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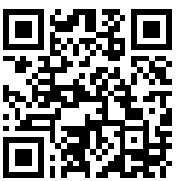

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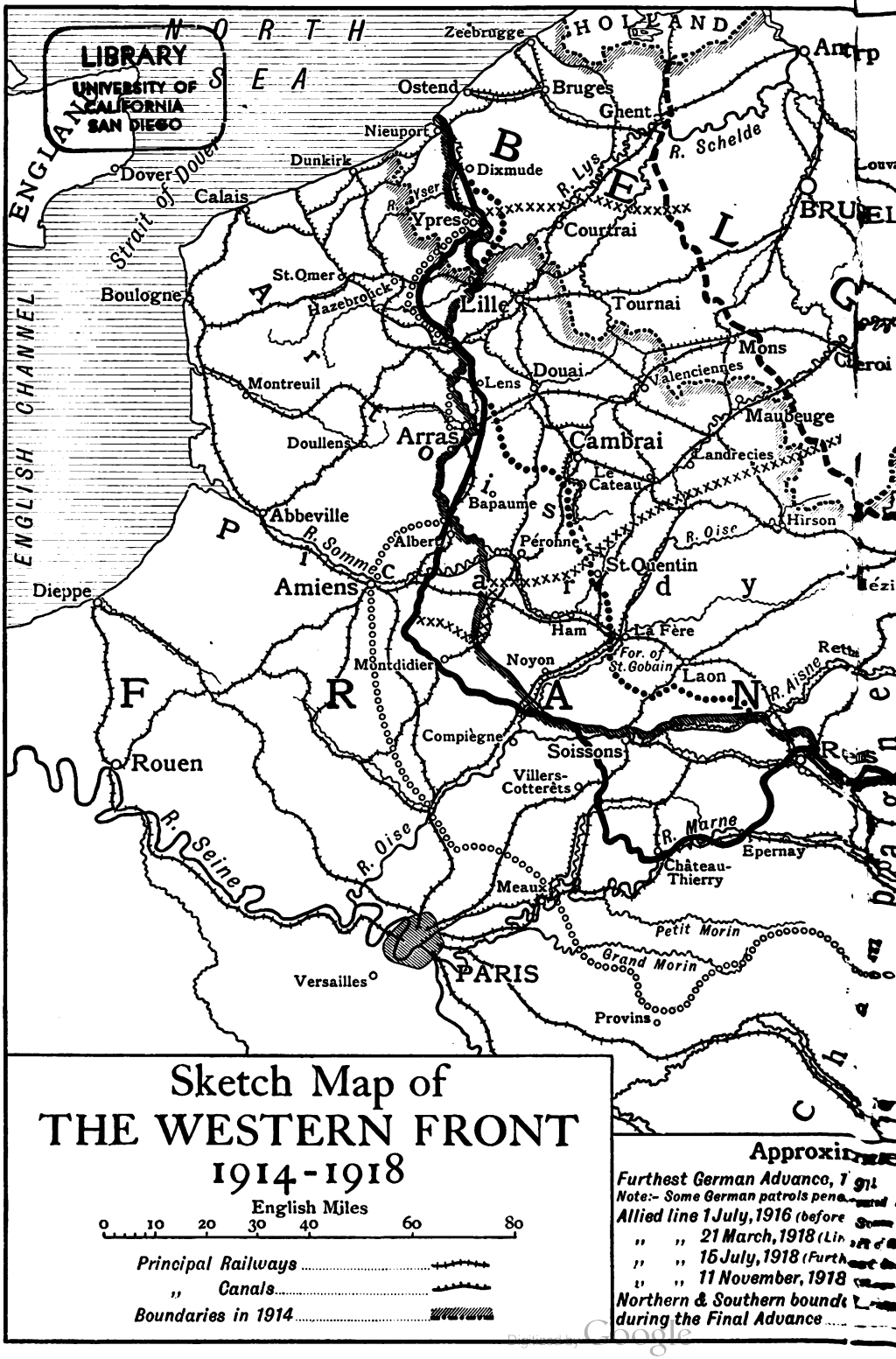

Sketch Map of THE WESTERN FRONT 1914-1918

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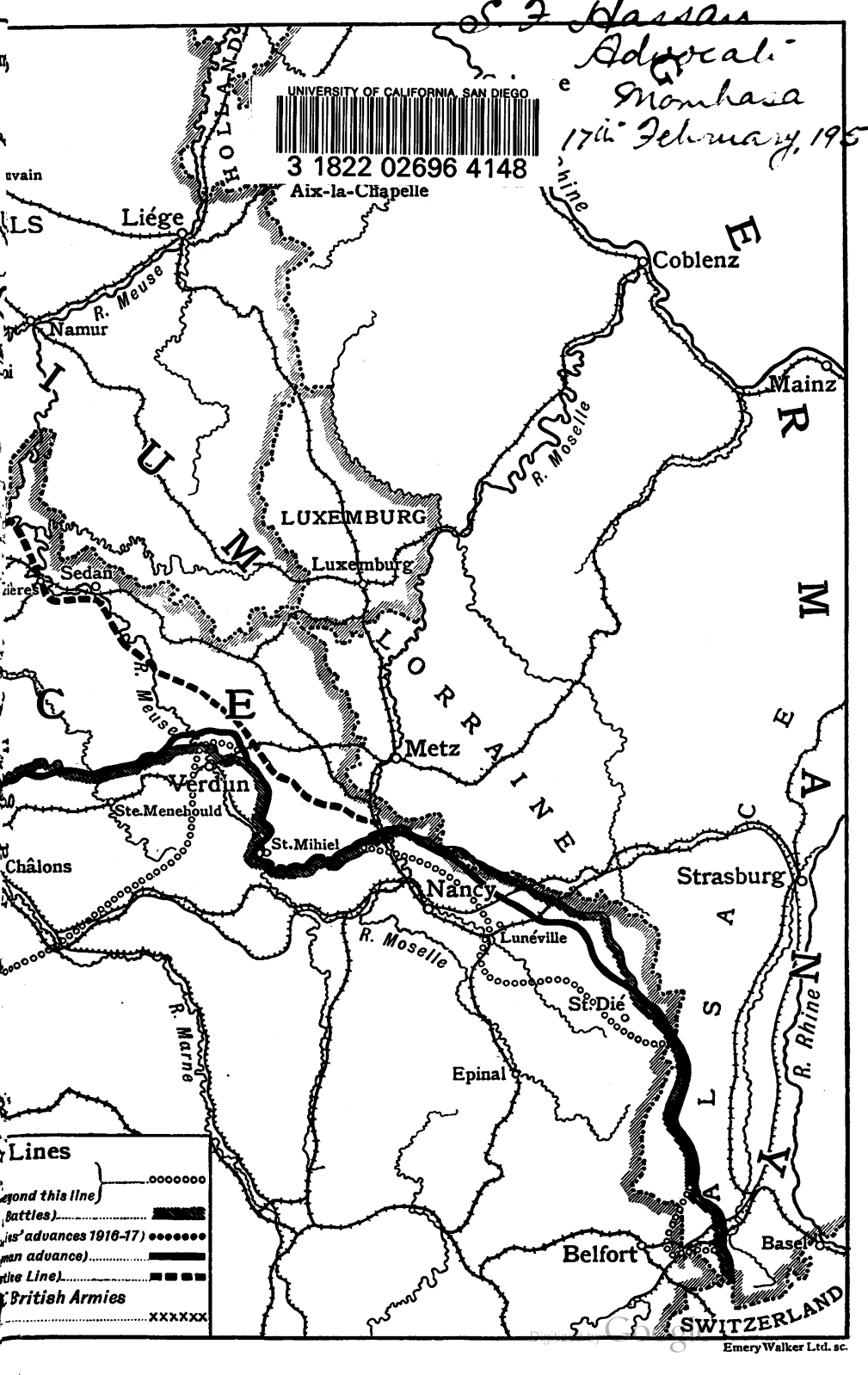
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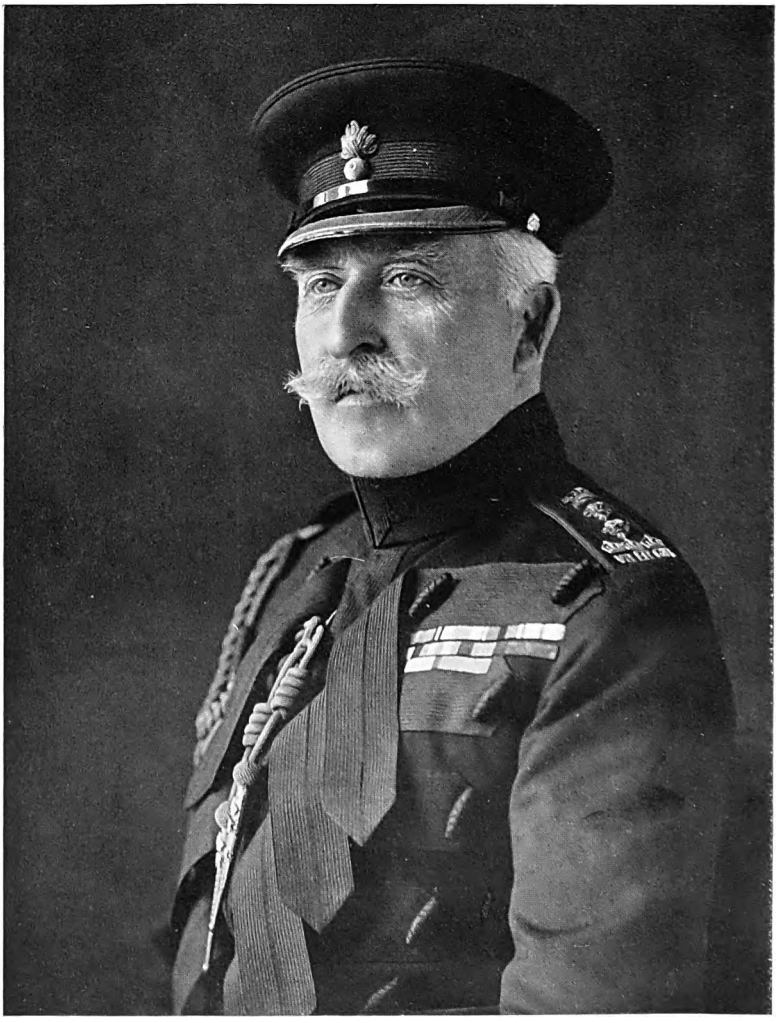

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

President of the Royal Colonial Institute

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THE EMPIRE AT WAR

EDITED FOR THE

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

BY

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

VOLUME II

1923

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PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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PREFACE

MANY writers, whose names are given, have co-operated in this volume, and in addition I am indebted to numbers of other friends for help, information, and advice. Their names are not given, partly because they are so many, and partly because not a few are mentioned, *honoris causâ*, in the text.

As before, Mr. R. L. Atkinson has acted as Sub-Editor, and all the military parts have been carefully revised by Mr. C. T. Atkinson, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, late officer in charge of the Military Branch of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence, and author of *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army*. To both of them I owe great obligations.

The maps and illustrations have been reproduced, as in the case of the first volume, by Mr. Emery Walker.

I owe it to my collaborators in this volume, especially to those who have written on the West Indies, to say that it has been absolutely necessary to edit and condense unsparingly. Whatever defects may be found in the volume must be attributed to the Editor alone.

The mass of material, with other causes which it is unnecessary to specify, account for the delay in issuing this volume. The third volume has already been sent to the Printers and all the material for the remaining two volumes has been supplied and is now being edited for press.

C. P. LUCAS.

February 1923.

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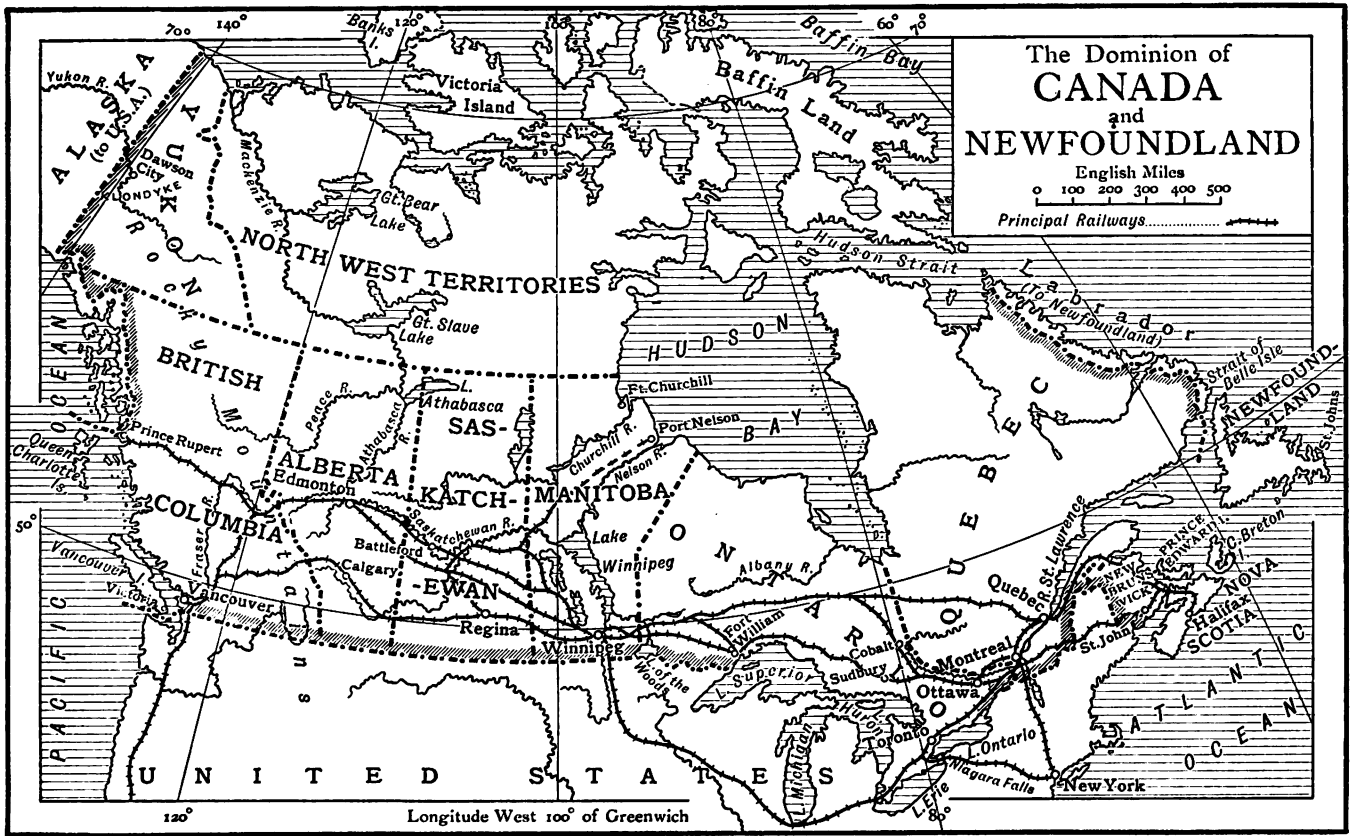

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SECTION I

CANADA AND THE WAR

BY THE EDITOR

CANADA stands first among the Self-governing Dominions, greatest in size and population, eldest in national development. In the Overseas Empire, self-government, in its modern guise, came to birth in Canada. In 1917 the Dominion kept its Jubilee, overshadowed by the war, but not forgotten.

The census of 1911 credited Canada with 7,200,000 inhabitants, of whom between one-quarter and one-third were French-Canadians. Of the foreign-born, whose birthplaces were on the continent of Europe, the largest number came from Austria-Hungary and Russia. Germans were comparatively few, though in earlier days the German element played an appreciable part in the making of Canada, as witnessed, among other German names, Lunenburg in Nova Scotia, in Ontario Berlin. In the initial debate of the first War Session in the Dominion House of Commons, tribute was paid to the loyalty and worth of Canadian citizens of German origin.

In the year ended the 31st of March 1914, the immigrants into Canada numbered 385,000, nearly two-fifths of whom came from the United Kingdom, and more than a quarter from the United States. The call was to the West. In the twentieth century the peopling of Western Canada has gone on apace; and a census taken in the midst of the war, on the 1st of June 1916, of the three Prairie Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, showed that, in spite of the war, their population had doubled in ten years. The peopling of the West means growing influence of the West in the councils of the Dominion; and in June 1914, on the eve of the war, a redistribution bill became law, to take effect at the next General Election, whereby the Western Provinces, from Manitoba inclusive to the Pacific, were given largely increased representation in the Dominion House of Commons.

For some little time before the war there had been a slowing

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down in the commercial and industrial progress of the Dominion, the result of inflated prosperity, of extravagant land speculation. Money was tight, business was depressed, the revenue drooped. Yet the trade returns indicated no serious setback, and by the end of July 1914 the tide was again on the turn. Unfortunately, the summer brought with it a severe drought in some districts of the Prairie Provinces, resulting a little later in almost total failure of crops, so much so that, in the session of the following spring, it was found necessary to pass a relief Act. The existing Parliament, born in 1911, was midway in its normal five years' life, and the Session in the first half of 1914 had been a busy one. The main bill of the Session was the redistribution bill already mentioned; a Naturalization Act was carried, in the direction of uniformity of naturalization throughout the Empire, on the lines agreed to at the last Imperial Conference; and the transcontinental railways and the Budget absorbed much time and attention. Outside Parliament, the half-year was marked by a naval disaster in the St. Lawrence of the first magnitude, a great Canadian Pacific Company's steamer, the *Empress of Ireland*, being rammed by another ship below Quebec. The loss of life exceeded one thousand; it was a calamity which seemed to be a prelude in peace-time of what was to come in the trail of war. For the rest, the year 1914 found Canada rather specially attuned to peace, for this was the year in which unbroken peace with the United States for a hundred years was due to be celebrated with goodwill and thanksgiving.

The Governor-General of Canada for the past three years had been the Duke of Connaught, who succeeded Earl Grey in 1911. He had known Canada, as a young soldier, many years before. He stood high in the esteem and affection of all classes in the Dominion, and their sympathy had lately been called forth by the dangerous illness of the Duchess of Connaught. He was on the eve of resigning office; the Session had closed with a Parliamentary address to him of high appreciation; the name of his successor had been given to the public, Prince Alexander of Teck, Queen Mary's brother. All this, and much more also, was changed, suddenly and swiftly, by the war; and public duty, in time of public danger, kept His Royal Highness at his post.

Sir Robert Borden was Prime Minister of Canada. The war

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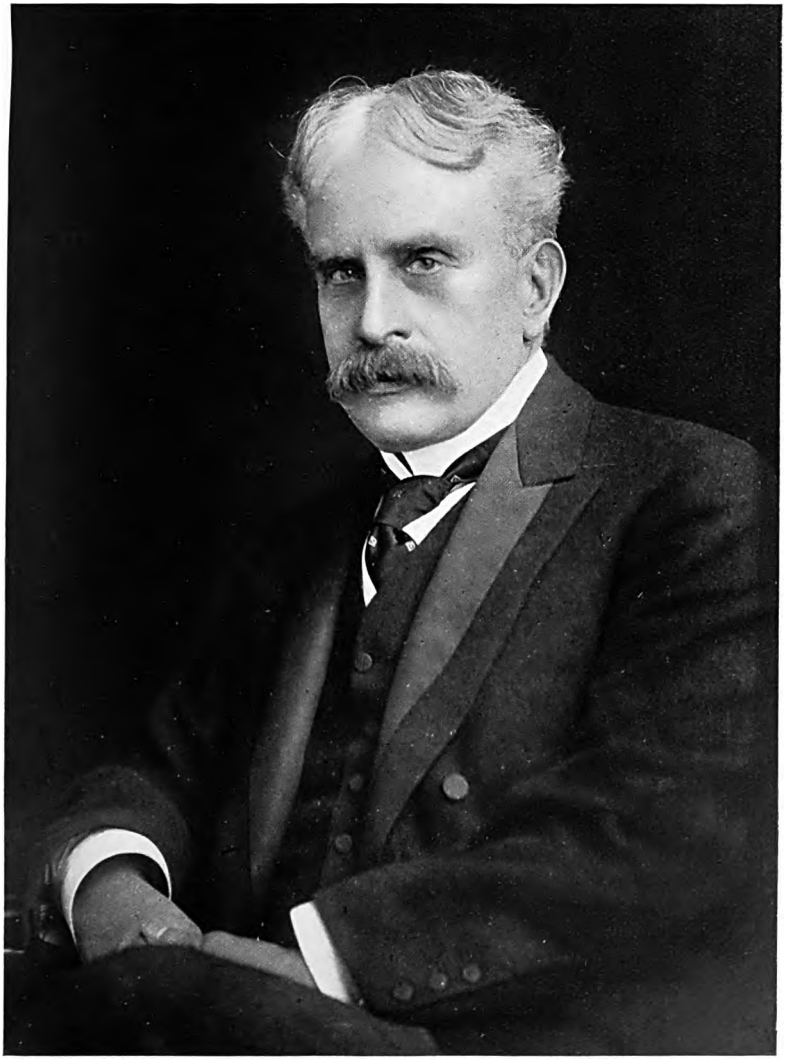

SIR ROBERT BORDEN

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SIR GEORGE FOSTER

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found him a man of 60 years of age. Born at Grand Pré, immortalized in *Evangeline*, on the 26th of June 1854, he was one of the many leading men whom the Maritime Provinces have given to public life in Canada. A barrister by profession, practising at Halifax, he entered the Dominion Parliament as a Conservative member for that city in 1896, the year in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier first became Prime Minister ; and in 1901 he succeeded the veteran Sir Charles Tupper as leader of the Conservative party. For ten years he led the Conservatives, heavily outnumbered, in patient opposition, until the General Election of 1911 brought him into power with a majority as strong as that which he had faced and fought. His was the case of a man, with no gifts of dazzling rhetoric, with no pretence to such brilliancy as captivates the crowd, but resolute in will, unfailing in courage, upright in character, combining strong intellect with sound political judgement, who rose to each occasion and grew with added responsibility. Prominent among his colleagues, an older man than he and much his senior in Parliamentary life, was Sir George Foster, of New Brunswick birth, a political speaker of the first rank, who had held office in Conservative ministries from the days of Sir John Macdonald, and who now filled the post of Minister of Trade and Commerce. The Minister of Finance was the present Sir William Thomas White, a financial expert of Toronto, a Liberal who, with many other Liberals, had taken the other side on the Reciprocity question. The Minister of Militia and Defence was Colonel Sam Hughes, who had seen no little active service and had been for many years a somewhat boisterous and aggressive advocate of all that made for greater military efficiency in Canada.

The Opposition was centred in one man of unrivalled influence and personality, the gifted French-Canadian, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. From 1896 to 1911, for fifteen years without a break, he had been Prime Minister of Canada. Four times he had represented the Dominion at Imperial Conferences : no statesman in the Overseas Empire carried so much weight : he was emphatically a leader, not in Canada alone. He was verging on the age of 73, when the crisis came ; but his vigour was unabated, and his speech, enriched by his French descent, had lost neither grace nor persuasiveness. His political views were coloured by his race and upbringing : he had no love

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for Imperialism in any form, translating it, in French-Canadian wise, into armaments and aggression, habitual to the Old World, to be eschewed by the New : he was a jealous guardian of Canadian autonomy rather than an active promoter of Empire partnership.

His principal colleague and Minister of Finance during his whole long term of office, W. S. Fielding, one more Nova Scotian, had taken the leading part in negotiating the reciprocal arrangement with the United States, which procured the fall of the Ministry. He was in bad health and lost his seat in the *débâcle* of 1911.

Among the comparatively few French-Canadians who were not whole-hearted followers of Laurier, one must be mentioned, Henri Bourassa, who represented extreme Nationalist sentiment in the Province of Quebec. A grandson of Louis Joseph Papineau, he played, with less ability and with far less popular backing, much the same part that General Hertzog played in South Africa, being an avowed opponent of the Empire and no lover of the British connexion. He gained some notoriety by his intransigeant attitude in connexion with the war.

An outstanding figure in the modern history of Canada passed away when Lord Strathcona died on the 21st of January 1914. Born as far back as 1820, and entering as a boy the service of the Hudson Bay Company, he had lived to witness all the stages by which disjointed units had coalesced and expanded into a single Canadian nation, a Dominion from sea to sea. To that end he had greatly contributed as a foremost leader among the band of men who carried through the Canadian Pacific Railway. From 1895 until his death he held the office of High Commissioner for Canada in London, giving of his great wealth with open hand. When he died, the duties of his post were temporarily entrusted to a member of the Borden Cabinet, a minister without portfolio, Mr., now Sir George, Perley, who, as acting High Commissioner, retained his seat in the Cabinet, following a precedent set in the case of Sir Charles Tupper. He had intended soon to return to Canada, but the war kept him in London, and at the end of October 1916, while still acting as High Commissioner, he was appointed Minister for the Overseas Military Forces of Canada. A year later, in October 1917, he was relieved of this latter charge and became in name as in fact High Commissioner.

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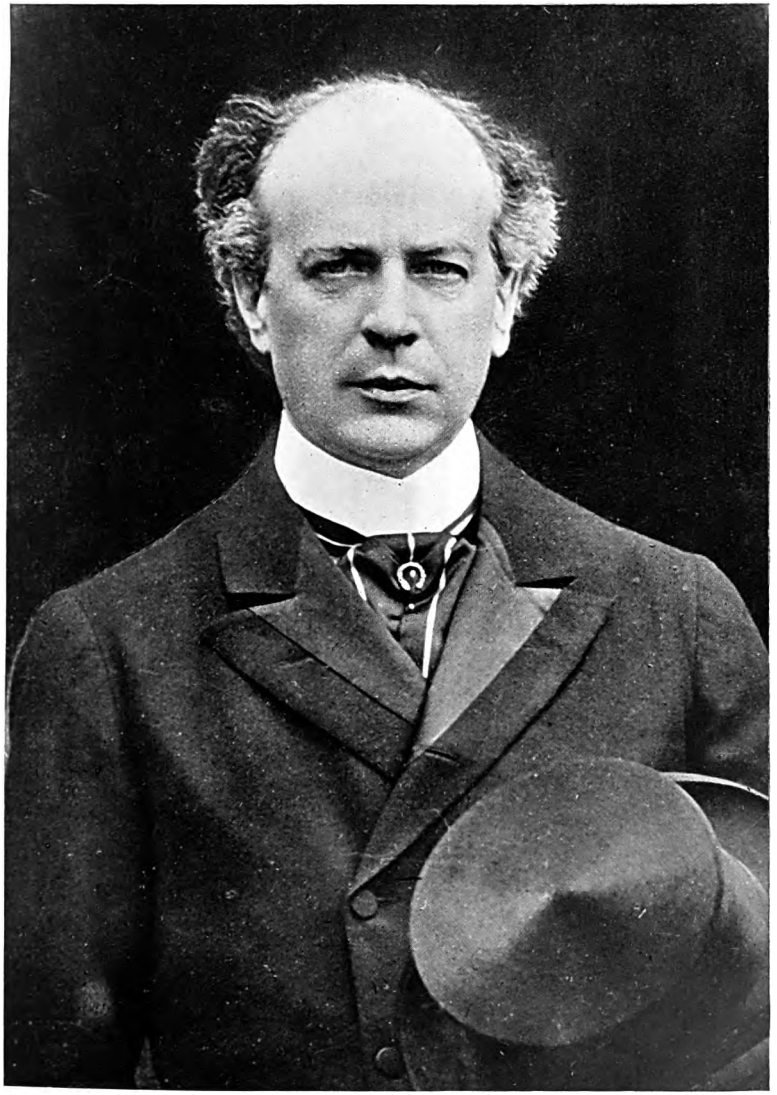

SIR WILFRID LAURIER

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SIR GEORGE PERLEY

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Throughout the exacting years of war, amidst endless difficulties, he watched over the interests of Canada and Canadians on this side the Atlantic with unremitting care.

The last survivor of the fathers of Canadian federation, Sir Charles Tupper, outlived the first year of the war. He died in October 1915 at the great age of 94. Thus one of the foremost men who brought to birth the Canadian nation, lived to see that nation stand forth, in the day of trouble, in the forefront of the defenders of the Empire and enter upon a new chapter of glorious history.

The Session had opened on the 15th of January, and Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of June. The crisis therefore came upon Canada during the recess. It was the same in Australia, where, moreover, a general election was pending, and in South Africa also. In all three cases it fell to the Government of the day to take responsibility for immediate action, and to apply to Parliament later to ratify what had been done. The war-clouds gathered, the political horizon grew dark, the Prime Minister went back to Ottawa and, on the 1st of August, cabled through the Governor-General two messages to the Home Government. He invited suggestions as to the most effective means by which Canada might render all possible help in the event of war. In such an event he pledged the Canadian people to make every effort and every sacrifice to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of the Empire. Worthy messages they were from the leader of the leading Dominion: he spoke for the people, and the coming time proved every syllable to be true. Grateful acknowledgements came back from England, but still marking time; all hope of peace had not yet vanished. On the 4th of August, however, there came advice to take preliminary steps for providing without delay an Expeditionary Force, should it be required. A few hours later the necessity had arisen: the British Empire was at war with Germany.

In the earlier months of the year, with the approval of the Prime Minister and guided by memoranda supplied by the Home Government, the permanent heads of the Government offices at Ottawa, which would be most concerned in case of war, had, under the chairmanship of the experienced Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Sir Joseph Pope, collaborated in working out the action to be taken at each office

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in the event of the imminence or the outbreak of war. The result was that, when the emergency arose, the Dominion Government was in entire accord with the Imperial Government as to what was immediately necessary, and the various departments of the Dominion Government were in accord with one another. There was no misunderstanding and no delay. There was much to be done, both before the actual declaration of war and afterwards. Orders in Council and Proclamations were manifold, covering the same ground as elsewhere in the Empire. Prohibition of exports, treatment of enemy subjects, detention of enemy vessels, censorship of cables, financial measures, including the issue of notes instead of gold, many points of many kinds demanded and received instant attention, over and above naval and military measures and precautions. On the water Canada had not much to offer, but all that she had and all that she could procure was immediately forthcoming. The *Niobe* and *Rainbow*, the small beginnings of Canadian sea-power, were, with their officers and men, placed at the disposal of the Admiralty, and so were two submarines, originally built for the Chilian Government, and bought at Seattle through the Government of British Columbia, with prompt initiative though not without subsequent Parliamentary criticism, on the day when war was declared. 'All ships available for active service have been placed on active service,' were the concise words of an official statement issued on the night of the 4th of August; 'the Naval Volunteer Force has also been called out.' In regard to land forces, the Dominion Ministers rather anticipated than met the wishes of the War Office. No sooner was one offer accepted than it was bettered by another. One Division was suggested from England as a suitable composition for the offered and accepted Expeditionary Force, a full Division of rather over 22,000 men. Thereupon additional units were immediately offered and forthwith accepted. One of these units was a battalion of ex-regulars, raised and, to the amount of $100,000, equipped by Mr. Hamilton Gault of Montreal, bearing the title of 'The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry'. The Canadian forces were defence forces; the Militia Act contemplated home defence, though its actual terms did not preclude foreign service;[1] the Militia could be, and some of its units promptly

[1] As to the terms of the Militia Act, see below, p. 45.

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were, called up for training and for home service; but an Expeditionary Force would be composed only of those who volunteered for overseas service, and there were legal technicalities to be adjusted in order to regularize their status. But no difficulty was made on either side of the water, or rather all difficulties were at once surmounted, and officers and men came forward to volunteer in numbers far exceeding the need of the moment. An Order in Council of the 6th of August authorized the mobilization of volunteers for overseas service under the British Crown 'of such effective strength as may from time to time be determined'; on the 10th of August the strength and composition of a first contingent was given in detail; and, as a beginning, 25,000 men were at once to be mobilized at Valcartier camp, 16 miles north-west of the city of Quebec.

Thus, in these very early days of the war, preparations for immediate action went unceasingly forward, the whole Canadian people being 'united in a common resolve', as their Prime Minister had promised for them. The Empire had learnt much from the South African War, how best to ensure effective co-operation and to avoid friction. When the second and graver crisis arose, there was a more or less clear understanding between the Mother Country and the self-governing Dominions as to what to do and how to do it. No doubt the fact that the occasion was immeasurably greater operated to minimize any possible elements of difference, and one notable feature of the time was the unerring instinct, which manifested itself in all parts of the Empire, that its fate with all that it stood for was in the balance as never before. Still, at the outset, the lessons learnt in a comparatively recent war, and worked out since, were of much value. Though occasional units from Canada were at first incorporated in the Home forces—Princess Patricia's battalion, for instance, forming part of the Twenty-seventh Division—there was from the first no doubt whatever—there could be none with the greater numbers involved—as to retaining the identity of the main Canadian contingent, soon to develop into the Canadian Corps; while the unity of the Empire was illustrated by Canada providing garrisons for Bermuda and St. Lucia. In the South African War, however, the scene of fighting was far removed from the homeland, and the enemy had no outlet to the sea. There

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was no danger therefore in that war of the British Islands becoming straitened for food supplies. It was otherwise when the North Sea harboured an enemy fleet second in strength to the British Navy. All the Oversea Dominions were quick to appreciate the menace, and to forestall it with rare forethought for the old country and its people. The war was only two days old, when the Canadian Government telegraphed an offer of a million bags of flour, the first shipment to be sent in ten days. A grateful acceptance emphasized the value of the gift 'for the steadying of prices and the relief of distress. We can never forget the promptitude and generosity of the gift and the patriotism from which it springs.' It was the first of numberless gifts of the kind, from Dominion and Provinces, from public and private sources. The arrangements for shipments of food were at first hampered by the financial crisis in England and the moratorium, and the cable was kept busy between the Ministers at Ottawa and the High Commissioner in London; but as early as the 10th of August, Perley could telegraph that everything was wonderfully quiet, and the financial situation much improved; and, when the Dominion Parliament met, the initial difficulties had for the most part passed away.

The imminence of war produced a momentary financial panic in Canada, and a run upon the banks began. Unfortunately the law, as it stood, made no provision for such a crisis, and under it the Canadian banks were bound to pay their depositors to the full amount of their deposits in gold or Dominion notes. Not liking the outlook, White, the Finance Minister, followed the Prime Minister's example in going back to Ottawa, where he arrived on the 2nd of August, and on the 3rd he discussed the situation with leading members of the Canadian Bankers' Association. The result was that, before midnight on the 3rd, an Order in Council was passed and published in a special Government Gazette, authorizing the banks to meet the demands upon them in their own notes with a temporarily increased circulation, and pledging the Government to make advances to the banks in Dominion notes against bank securities and to give all further possible assistance. As soon as the Order in Council appeared, public confidence was restored and the run on the banks ceased. As a matter of fact the order had no legal validity; on the contrary, it ran counter

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to the existing law; but it stated that the necessary special legislation would be obtained at the next Session of Parliament, and this course was duly taken, as seen below.

Parliament had been summoned to meet on Tuesday, the 18th, and it sat till the following Saturday, the 22nd, inclusive. Five days sufficed to ratify what had already been done, to pass the necessary emergency laws, and to vote what money was immediately needed. The speeches were all of one accord, the speakers were all of one mind. The Prime Minister was not more emphatic than the leader of the Opposition. Before the actual declaration of war, Laurier had cancelled all his meetings and proclaimed a party truce, and his speech on the Address was a noble utterance. He declared it to be the duty of one and all 'to let Great Britain know, and to let the friends and foes of Great Britain know, that there is in Canada but one mind and one heart, and that all Canadians stand behind the Mother Country'. Eight Acts were passed, all of which, with one exception, an amending Naturalization Act, were directly concerned with the war, and five of which related to finance and currency. Before the war the revenue for the financial year had been estimated at $145 millions, the expenditure at about $175 millions, and £5 millions had been borrowed in June. The Revenue returns at the end of July had shown marked improvement, but, in consequence of the war, White now estimated for a revenue not exceeding $130 to $135 millions. The Government proposed, while providing for war expenditure, not to embark upon new Public Works, but, on the other hand, not to cause unemployment by closing down works already under construction; in the result they asked for, and were readily granted in a War Appropriation Act, a sum of $50 millions to carry on to the following 31st of March. White imposed war taxes, estimated to bring in $7 millions, in the form of additional customs and excise duties, and an Act 'to conserve the commercial and financial interests of Canada', with the short title of 'The Finance Act, 1914', together with a Dominion Notes Act, confirmed the action which had already been taken in regard to currency and banking, and increased the issue of paper money in lieu of gold. The Finance Act permanently and effectually safeguarded Canada in the event of further recurrence of such difficulties as had been happily tided over, and it gave power

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to the Government to declare a moratorium, a power which it was not found necessary to use. Under the Dominion Notes Act, the Dominion Note issue was increased by $25 millions. In the case of all the Dominions the Home Government eased the financial situation by advancing money for war purposes upon the same terms upon which Great Britain herself could borrow, and £12 millions were thus placed at the disposal of Canada up to the 31st of March 1915, the end of the financial year in both countries. A War Measures Act, which gave retrospective authority for steps already taken and placed most extensive powers in the hands of the Governor-General in Council, like similar laws elsewhere, largely transferred to the Executive Government the functions of the Legislature; and throughout the war Canadians were regulated by Orders in Council which had the force of law, more than by Acts of Parliament. Care for the fighting men was in evidence in the Dominion Parliament even before the men went forth to fight. An Act to incorporate the Canadian Patriotic Fund gave legal recognition to a fund which was already being raised, to provide for the needs of the families and dependants of Canadians on active service, the long list of trustees being headed by the Governor-General, who had inaugurated the fund. The Act was, in effect, a replica of an Act passed in May 1901, at the time of the South African War, to constitute a Canadian Patriotic Fund Association, and the new Corporation was authorized to take over the assets and liabilities of its predecessor.

It has been seen that 25,000 men were to be gathered at Valcartier Camp, of whom 22,218 were to represent the embarking strength of a Canadian Division, including administrative units. At the beginning of September, in lieu of 25,000, there were from 32,000 to 35,000 in camp. The surplus numbers were easily explained. By way of illustration, the Minister of Militia quoted the case of a Winnipeg unit, the Fort Garry Horse, 1,000 strong, who, on their own initiative, chartered two special trains and came, unasked, to Valcartier. On the 22nd of September the Prime Minister stated that the Expeditionary Force would number approximately 32,500 men. Over and above the Division, there were separate units, Princess Patricia's Battalion, the Royal Canadian Dragoons, and Lord Strathcona's Horse; and there were five reserve

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battalions to reinforce the Division. Eager to join up at the Camp, the men were as eager to leave: longing to go to the front and join in the fighting, they chafed as the weeks went by. Yet there was no unnecessary delay: on the contrary, the arrangements for laying out the Camp, for mobilization, for equipment, for transport, were made with surprising rapidity. Between the 22nd and 24th of September the force embarked at Quebec: the ships dropped down the St. Lawrence to the rendezvous at Gaspé Bay, and on the 1st of October 32 transports steamed out of the bay, led by warships of the Royal Navy and met by more warships in Mid Atlantic. The sailor in charge was one of whom much more was to be heard as the war went on, Rear-Admiral Rosslyn Wemyss. On the 14th of October the vessels anchored in Plymouth Sound, and men, horses, guns passed on to Salisbury Plain, where, under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Alderson, at an encampment 20 miles from Salisbury, they were found on the 17th of October by the indefatigable Minister of Militia, who had followed them across the sea.

In these first days of the war the stream of recruits came more especially from Winnipeg and Western Canada, and the large majority of the first Expeditionary Force were not Canadian born. It was in the course of nature. The first call appealed with peculiar force to those who had not long since come out from the Old Country, to settle or sojourn in the opening West. But they were the first fruits only: the national effort was still almost in embryo. While the first contingent was still on the sea, it was announced that a second contingent of 22,000 men would be formed, the number being a little later reduced so as to make up with their predecessors two Divisions of 45,000 men in all. In the course of October the Dominion Government made it known that contingents would be sent as required and, with that end in view, that, over and above 8,000 men for home defence, 30,000 would be kept continuously under arms and in training for oversea service. This decision was embodied in an Order in Council of the 7th of November. Every unit sent across the sea was to be replaced by mobilizing a corresponding number of fresh recruits. In the matter of fighting men Canada was all out for the Empire.

As with men, so with products and resources; foodstuffs

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were coming in abundance and to come : corn-growing was to be multiplied for the common cause. But Eastern Canada, older Canada, had also its manufactures, and in peace-time the manufacturing interest of the East had somewhat run counter to the agricultural interest of the West. Eastern Canada was not disposed to cater only for the war requirements of the Canadian forces, and to leave supplies of munitions for the Mother Country wholly to the United States. The Minister of Militia and Defence was, as always, prompt in initiative. Hearing that the British War Office was desirous of having shrapnel shells made in Canada, he called a meeting of Canadian manufacturers at the Dominion Arsenal of Quebec on the 2nd of September 1914. On the 7th he constituted a Shell Committee to act for the War Office and as agents for the British Government in the matter of supplying the ammunition required, and towards the end of November the work of making munitions for export to England was well in hand. So the memorable year, 1914, went out, with a record for Canada of much work already done for the Empire and infinitely more in hand, of a Government and a people precipitated into war at a time when home conditions in the Dominion were not at flood tide, but meeting the war half-way with promptitude, resolution, and a single mind.

The Session of 1915 opened on the 4th of February, and lasted till the 15th of April. The Governor-General's speech pointed to an exclusively War Session. The Address in reply in the House of Commons was moved by a member of German origin, seconded by a French-Canadian. A telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the 5th of February, which was read to the House, spoke in eulogy of the Canadian contingent, who had been inspected by the King and were on the eve of leaving for the front. With the exception of an Act, which safeguarded the electoral rights of Canadians on active service, and another which amended the Patriotic Fund Act of 1914, the chief laws of the Session and the principal debates related to finance. White brought in his Budget on the 11th of February. The melancholy anticipation of a fall in revenue which had been formed in August had, in spite of additional taxation, been unfortunately more than fulfilled, and in the ten months of the financial year there had been a shortage of nearly $30 millions, as compared with the similar

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period in 1913–14, the decline being mainly in Customs receipts. Eventually, when the year had ended on the 31st of March 1915, the actual results were, a revenue of $133 millions, being a decrease of 30 millions on the previous year, an increase of Public Debt during the year of $113 millions, bringing the total net debt of the Dominion up to nearly $450 millions, and an appropriation for war expenditure during the year of $60¾ millions. It will be remembered that a vote for $50 millions had been taken in August, 30 millions of which represented the estimates for purely war expenses up to the 31st of March 1915. When White spoke on the 11th of February the war expenditure had already amounted to $38 millions, and he contemplated a war bill of $50 millions by the end of the financial year. Even this higher estimate proved to be too low.

The financial outlook was therefore grave and discouraging, but White faced it squarely. In the United Kingdom, where Free Trade has in the main held the field, the income-tax, as the taxpayers know only too well, has been in time of war the sheet anchor of national finance. It is a tax better adapted to the settled conditions of an old country than to the shifting gains and losses of a new and developing land; and White had a further reason for not imposing it, in that it is a source of revenue left open to the provincial Legislatures by the British North America Act of 1867. He was at once more considerate to the component units of the Federation and more merciful to the richer taxpayers than the Labour Ministry of the Australian Commonwealth; for in this same year, 1915–16, the Commonwealth Government first imposed an income-tax, in addition to that already imposed by the States. To meet the calls of the war, the Canadian Minister relied mainly upon the tariff, but he cast his net in all directions. Banks, loan and trust companies, insurance companies, cheques, money orders, letters, postcards, telegrams, railway and steamship tickets, all were to pay for the war: stamp duties were to contribute, and wines. Eight million dollars of additional revenue were estimated from these sources, $20 to $25 millions from the Customs tariff, the intermediate and general tariff being increased by 7½ per cent., the preferential tariff, which applied to the United Kingdom, by 5 per cent. The financial debate was long drawn out, and party feeling reasserted itself. Contending that, as the Opposition had not been consulted in

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framing the Budget, they retained full right of criticism, Laurier moved an amendment, making capital out of the increase in the rates on British imports, as being higher barriers against the trade of Great Britain with Canada. White counter-attacked in much detail and with great force: the amendment was rejected by a majority of 45, and the new taxes were introduced in a special war revenue Act and a Customs tariff revenue Act. A War Appropriation Act gave authority to borrow $100 millions to cover the war expenses of the coming financial year—which sum it was intended to borrow from the Imperial Government.

Towards the end of the Session, on the 10th of April, the Prime Minister made a statement as to the armed forces of Canada up to date. Already there were some 36,500 Canadian soldiers beyond the sea, in Europe 35,420, representing the first contingent and its reinforcements; in Bermuda a battalion nearly 1,000 strong, the Royal Canadian Regiment; in St. Lucia a small Canadian garrison of 110 men. In Canada, the second contingent, reserve battalions, and recruits not yet mobilized, numbered 53,000. The total oversea forces, gone or going, exceeded 89,000, the total number of Canadians under arms at home or abroad was 101,500. So far, with the exception of Princess Patricia's battalion, the first Expeditionary Force had seen little fighting. Not till the battles of Ypres (1915) opened, on the memorable 22nd of April, did Canadian soldiers pay heavy toll of their lives. Then began a perpetually lengthening list of casualties, and month by month the need for more men grew. Borden, on the 10th of April, referred to the 2nd Division as still in Canada, but the crossing had already begun. May found the Division, with its reinforcements, in England, and in September it went on to the Front. Speaking in London on the 13th of July, he stated that at that date 75,000 Canadian soldiers had been sent overseas, including the detachments in Bermuda and the West Indies, and that 75,000 more were in training in Canada, making a total of 150,000 men under arms for overseas service. This number had, shortly before he spoke, been formally authorized by an Order in Council of the 8th of July. In September it was decided to send a third division, to make up with its predecessors an army corps, the formal offer being made and accepted a little later. The *Canadian Gazette* of

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the 25th of October published the King's Appeal, which told out to the Empire that 'more men and yet more are wanted'. The answer from Canada was contained in an Order in Council of the 30th of October, which fixed the limit of men to be raised, equipped, and sent out at 250,000. At the end of November the number of Canadian casualties up to date was returned at some 13,500. At the beginning of December there were 115,000 Canadians on foreign service, and 75,000 more training in Canada. By the end of the year nearly 213,000 had been recruited out of the authorized total of 250,000; but a New Year's message from the Prime Minister announced that that total would be doubled, and on the 12th of January 1916 an Order in Council was issued, which authorized the raising of 500,000 men. The rate of increase was almost startling: in six months the authorized numbers were more than trebled. It was clear that the leaders of Canada fully gauged the emergency and were determined that the Dominion should be in the forefront to meet it. There was no doubt as to the depth and strength of Canadian patriotism, at any rate in the English-speaking provinces, but none the less Borden and his colleagues, to their endless credit, almost invariably led public opinion, instead of lagging behind it. 'The Government of Canada, in the matter of raising men and in its attitude as to the extent of Canada's participation in the struggle, stood always decidedly in advance of public sentiment throughout the Dominion.'[1]

Out of the first quarter of a million men, it was estimated that 62 per cent. were British born, and in the proportion of men sent to the front Winnipeg and the West still led the rest of Canada. An appreciable number of French-Canadians, some 2,500 it was said, took service in the first Expeditionary Force, and early lists of distinctions included well-known French names, among them, in Princess Patricia's regiment, that of Captain Talbot Papineau, grandson of Louis Papineau. Early in the war, Laurier, Lemieux, and other leaders of French Canada, strongly advocated the raising of a French-Canadian battalion; one was raised and formed part of the 2nd Division, and others followed; in December 1915 the

[1] These were Sir Thomas White's words, expressing what he 'thought frequently during the early years of the war'. See *The Story of Canada's War Finance*, by Sir Thomas White (Montreal, 1921), published for the Canadian Bank of Commerce.

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total number of French-Canadians enlisted was given as approximating 15,000. Various causes militated in the Province of Quebec against hearty co-operation in the war. Among them was resentment against English-speaking Canada in respect of the education question in the provinces of Ontario and Manitoba, where the English language had been made compulsory as the medium of instruction in the schools. It gave a handle to extreme nationalists in the Province of Quebec, such as Bourassa and Lavergne; and throughout 1915, on the platform and in the columns of his newspaper *Le Devoir*, Bourassa conducted a virulent anti-British campaign. He met with no mercy at Laurier's hands. Speaking in the Dominion House of Commons, on the 17th of January 1916, Laurier referred to 'those who, blinded by passion and prejudice, would deny us the liberty of being humane and generous', who would not help France and Belgium, because they would thereby be helping England. How strong was the antipathy of French-Canadians to all that savoured of militarism has been noted in the first volume. The theme was a favourite one of Laurier himself. As the war went on, in Canada as elsewhere, there was inevitably more talk of conscription, and the likelihood of it or the possibility could be turned to account by opponents of the Government, still more by opponents of the war. It was alleged that Americans settled in Canada were streaming back into the United States for fear of being made conscripts—an allegation which reads strangely in the light of the policy subsequently adopted by the American Government when the Republic entered into the war, and the constant and rapid increase in the authorized number of recruits, culminating in the 500,000 limit, gave ground for suspicion that conscription must be on its way. Yet any pronouncement by the Government had been in the opposite sense. At the beginning of the war Borden had stated that he did not contemplate conscription; Hughes had expressed himself as 'personally opposed to anything that is not voluntary in every sense'; and when, in the opening debate of 1916, Laurier referred to the matter and laid down, in *ex cathedrâ* style, 'there is to be no conscription in Canada', the Prime Minister, who followed him, again repeated his assurance that he had not conscription in view.

Much attention was given to the multiplying Canadian

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soldiers in 1915. Pension regulations, embodied in a draft Order in Council, were laid before Parliament on the 24th of March, and the Order was issued on the 29th of April, 'providing pensions for officers and men disabled on active service' as from September 1914, the terms of the Order covering the cases of widows and dependants of the dead. An Order in Council of the 21st of July made similar provision for disabled men in the Naval Service and their dependants. Other orders provided separation allowances, and gratuities in lieu of short-time pensions in the case of discharged soldiers who were only slightly incapacitated. A Pension and Claims Board was established both in Canada and in England, and in December a Naval Pensions Board was instituted. In the following year, by an Order in Council of the 3rd of June 1916, the Pension and Claims Board was superseded by a board of three Pension Commissioners, and at the same time the rates of pension were revised in accordance with recommendations made by a special committee of the House of Commons. The scale was still further revised in October 1917. The Government allowances were supplemented from the Patriotic Fund, for which the Duke of Connaught made a fresh appeal at the end of the year, stating that over $6 millions had already been contributed to the fund and that 25,000 families were dependent upon it. As Canadian soldiers crossed the Atlantic, Canadian patriotism and generosity both followed and awaited them on the other side, where, under the Presidency of the acting High Commissioner, a Canadian War Contingent Association had been formed in London in the first month of the war. By an Order in Council of the 30th of June 1915 a hospital commission was appointed 'to deal with the provision of hospital accommodation and convalescent homes in Canada' for those who came back invalided from the front, the President being Senator Lougheed, afterwards Sir James Lougheed, who led for the Government in the Upper House. The scope of the Commission was widened, and its title altered, by a later Order in Council of the 14th of October, and, as 'the military hospital commission', it was empowered to administer funds contributed for its purposes from private sources as well as the money supplied by the Government, while its activities were extended to finding employment for returned soldiers on discharge from hospital. Under the terms of a subsequent

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Order in Council, issued on the 24th of June 1916, the Commission took over from the Department of Militia and Defence the whole Medical Staff in charge of invalided soldiers on their return to Canada, and a special casualty command was constituted, under the title of the Military Hospitals Commission Command. To this Command was entrusted the care of invalided men and convalescents from overseas who were to remain part of the Canadian Expeditionary Force for Home Service.

In this wise the work went forward of organizing, transporting, and ministering to the Canadian Army. The civil life of the Dominion was also being mobilized. Factories, mines, cornfields, all rallied to the war. Here was a land of unlimited resources, still in the infancy of development, to which, when the first disturbance of economic and industrial conditions had been tided over, the war gave a great impetus. A young people found new outlets for their energy and resourcefulness, new sources of wealth, and turned their hands to new industries with the courage and adaptability of youth. The Canadian manufacturers had an opening, not only to supply the requirements of their own fighting countrymen, but also to secure and carry out orders from Great Britain and the Allied nations. On the 17th of January 1916, Borden stated that there were then in Canada 250 factories making munitions, and that the value of orders placed in Canada up to the New Year was probably $500 millions. Side by side with the colossal output of which the United States were capable, Canadians were all the more on their mettle : patriotism combined with interest to speed their best endeavours. The course of the Shell Committee had not run smoothly. Beyond doubt much work was done and expeditiously. The furnaces and factories of Nova Scotia and Ontario, which were the first to be turned over to munitions-making, were in no long time supplemented up to the Pacific coast. But there was some criticism in England of Canadian handiwork. Requirements, on the other hand, constantly varied, and, as the year 1915 went on, the supreme importance of munitions, in both quantity and quality, as a factor for winning the war, was infinitely better appreciated. In the summer special delegates were sent out to Canada on behalf of the new Munitions Department in England, among them the future Lord Rhondda, and as

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the result, at the end of November, the Shell Committee was superseded in favour of an Imperial Munitions Board, acting directly under the Minister of Munitions in London. A year later, on the 23rd of November 1916, its Chairman, Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Flavelle of Toronto, gave an account of his stewardship at a gathering of the Royal Colonial Institute in London, presided over by Mr. Montagu, Minister of Munitions. He stated that the Board operated in every province in Canada, except Prince Edward Island, the sphere of its operations extending for nearly 4,000 miles from the extreme east on the Atlantic to the extreme west on the Pacific. Apart from the great material service which it rendered to the Empire, much interest attaches to the record of this Board. as illustrating how closely the Home Government and the self-governing Dominions co-operated in the years of war. The Board worked in Canada, but under the control of and responsible to the Home Government. At the same time it received from the Ministry at Ottawa, especially from the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance, the fullest support. Flavelle told how the Canadian Government now repaid the financial help which had been forthcoming from London to Canada, by in turn advancing $100 millions for the purposes of the Board, another $100 millions being advanced by the banks of Canada. It should be added that the services of some of the ex-members of the Shell Committee were utilized on a Commission of Inquiry as to the supply and sufficiency of raw materials in Canada for munitions, which was constituted by Orders in Council of the 27th of October and the 30th November 1915.

Commissions abounded. Two Orders in Council of the 28th of June and 19th of October 1915 constituted an Industrial Commission, with Lougheed as Chairman, and Flavelle, soon to be called off to munitions, as one of its members. Its object was to stimulate agricultural production, and its scope was very wide, including immigration, transport, and industries for preparing the raw products for the market. Before it went to work, Canada had, in strong contrast to the preceding year, been blessed with the most bountiful harvest on record, and the wheat-growing area had been increased by 25 per cent. A large proportion of the grain was commandeered by the Government, and among the lands into which Canadian corn was imported in the first two years of the war was New

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Zealand, which suffered at the time from a shortage of wheat and flour. Nature and man combined to work a vast improvement in the conditions of Canada in the latter half of 1915. White had so far financed the war mainly through the help of the British Government, who by the date when he brought in his next budget, on the 15th of February 1916, had advanced to Canada no less than £27 millions. He had also effected some short-term borrowing both in Canada and in New York. In midsummer 1915 he borrowed $45 millions in New York, not, for political reasons, ostensibly as a war loan but for general purposes, setting free thereby a corresponding sum in Canada to finance the war. As the months went by, it became necessary to raise the rate of interest on British money, and ways and means were more straitened in the mother country. Accordingly, in the late autumn of 1915, the Finance Minister decided that the time had come for a domestic war loan, and an Order in Council of the 20th of November authorized borrowing to the amount of $50 millions to defray war expenses in Canada. The loan was issued in 5 per cent. bonds, free of taxation, the amount called for was subscribed twice over, and on Christmas Day another Order in Council was issued, which gave authority for taking up the whole $100 millions.

Not a few malpractices followed the trail of the war. In 1916, as will be seen, contracts given out by the Shell Committee received investigation. In 1915 such scandals as came to light related to manufactures and purchases of other articles than munitions, ranging from boots to horses, from drugs to submarines. The first rush of the war in all the warring countries caused urgent demands and hurried supplies; quality was almost inevitably sacrificed to speed and quantity, inexperienced hands were called in to deal with unaccustomed work, and time was wanting for minute inspection. Under such conditions the fraudulent and greedy secured ill-gotten gains, and a crop of allegations sprang up in Canada, which for months formed the subject of searching inquiry by Sir Charles Davidson, late Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Province of Quebec. Not a little of Sir Robert Borden's strength and influence was due to implicit confidence in his personal integrity; public comments which he made in the House of Commons upon the dealings of two members of his own party led to their retirement; and steps were taken to

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prevent, as far as possible, repetition of abuses by the appointment of a War Purchasing Commission in May 1915. It consisted of three men chosen from Toronto, Winnipeg, and Montreal respectively, of whom Mr. A. E. Kemp (now Sir Edward Kemp), a member of the Cabinet, was Chairman. All purchases of, and contracts for, clothing, equipment, and the like, the money for which was found by the funds provided by the War Appropriation Acts, were to be made by the Commission and under its control, and a little later regulations were framed and published to govern the opening of tenders. The Shell Committee's transactions, however, were excluded from the scope of this Commission, and subsequently grain and hay were also excluded. Apart from the actual loss to the public and the discredit to Canada, the war purchase disclosures worked much mischief in encouraging party recrimination at a time when a united front was of paramount importance.

For good or ill, it was a very busy year in Canada, and the busiest man was the Prime Minister. In the summer he went to England 'to confer with His Majesty's Government', arriving in London early in the second week in July. The Minister of Militia, General Sir Sam Hughes, as he now became, crossed over about the same time. First of the Dominion Prime Ministers to come to the mother country after the war began, Borden was the first to be formally invited to attend a meeting of the British Cabinet. His case was made a precedent, and was avowedly intended to be a precedent, for similar instances in future of closer co-operation between the leaders of the Governments in the Empire, and the step which was now taken was followed up by the development of the Imperial War Cabinets and Conferences in 1917 and 1918. It was altogether fitting that Canada should be the Dominion to lead the way into the innermost circle of the Home Government, and that Borden should be the man. 'If you want our help, call us to your Councils,' had been an utterance of Laurier; but Laurier was well content with the *status quo*, and his horizon was bounded more by Canada than by the Empire. Heart and soul in the war with Germany, he yet once more, at the opening of the 1916 Session, differentiated his own point of view from that of Borden. Borden, he said, held that the moment Great Britain was at war, it was the duty of Canada to send her forces, while he himself contended

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that it rested with Canada whether or not to participate in a war and to what extent. Vigilant, as Laurier himself, of the self-governing rights of Canada, Borden looked for the final recognition of those rights in a setting of Empire partnership; and the future, which he envisaged for Canada, was one not of aloofness but of equality of directorate. His view was in evidence in the speeches which he made on this visit to England. When given the freedom of the City of London at the Guildhall, he foreshadowed an outcome of the war in a nobler and more enduring fabric than the past, a future structure which would at once embody autonomy of the parts and the majesty and power of a united and organized Empire. On the anniversary of the war, at a crowded gathering in the Opera House, his terms were that the old order had in some measure passed away and that 'once for all it has been borne in upon the minds and souls of all of us that the great policies which touch and control the issues of peace and war concern more than the people of these islands'. His reception in England was very marked. It was due to his own personality, to the record of Canada already great in the war, to the fact that for the moment he stood out in British eyes as the embodiment of the outer Empire solid for the common cause. Both in England and in France he saw with his own eyes Canadians at the front or in hospital or in training-camp, he took stock of all the activities and organizations concerned with their well-being, and he brought back to Canada early in September first-hand knowledge of what the war meant and what the war demanded, of defects to be made good and new requirements to be anticipated. The months which immediately followed the visit witnessed the great and rapid growth of the Canadian Army.

The life of the Canadian Parliament was due to end in October 1916, and it could not be prolonged without recourse to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, for, whereas in New Zealand it is within the competence of the Dominion Legislature, by local law, to extend its own term—the term being twice extended during the war for a year in each case—in Canada, Australia, and South Africa the duration of Parliament is prescribed in the Imperial Acts which created the Dominion, the Commonwealth, and the Union respectively. Public opinion was opposed to holding a General Election

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during the war, and the Opposition especially protested in advance against such a course. In the last months of 1915 Borden and Laurier corresponded and conferred on the subject, coming to an agreement on an extension for one year. The Governor-General's speech at the opening of the 1916 Session intimated that a resolution would be proposed to that effect: on the 8th of February the resolution, in the form of an address to the King covering the exact words of a Bill to be passed in the Imperial Parliament, was moved by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons and seconded by Laurier, who pleaded for unanimity: it was unanimously passed in both Houses and sent home: in the Home Parliament, which had just extended its own life for eight months, the Bill was passed, word for word as it stood, without comment; and it became law on the 1st of June 1916. There was no difficulty about it, but it savoured of anachronism that, in a matter of purely domestic concern, formal effect to what Canada wanted could not have been given in Canada itself. The truth was that the unexpected had happened. Borden stated that only two British precedents could be found. One was the Septennial Act of 1716, which prolonged the three years' life of the then existing Parliament, while fixing seven years as the normal Parliamentary term. The other was the Act which the British Parliament had just passed to meet its own case. When framing their Federal Legislatures, the self-governing Dominions had decided how long their Parliaments should last, the number of years was in each case laid down in the constitution, and no one could have contemplated the possibility of lengthening the term as a temporary expedient.

In moving the resolution, the Prime Minister spoke with gravity as to the probable length of the war. He referred to the three years which Lord Kitchener had in mind, and stated his own conviction that the Empire was not more than half-way through, that the war might last not only throughout 1916 but through a considerable part, possibly the whole, of 1917. Even this measured estimate was exceeded by the facts. The Finance Minister, in his Budget speech, used the words, 'Let us assume that our indebtedness on account of this war will reach $500 millions'. As a matter of fact, before the end came $1,400 millions had been voted in War Appropriation

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Acts, and the actual war debt of Canada eventually amounted to well over $1,600 millions. Canadian statesmen were by no means less far-seeing or more sanguine than other responsible leaders in the Empire. On the contrary, no two men faced actualities and prepared for the worst with more courage and resolution than Sir Robert Borden and Sir Thomas White. As far as human judgement could guide, the war was never minimized in Canada, and there the year 1916 opened with sober concentration upon the one main object of carrying it through to the bitter end. Had the year come in peace-time, it would still have stood out in Canada from other years. In the autumn there was a change of Governor-General. The Duke of Connaught had by that time stayed in office for two years longer than he had intended before the war, and had completed his full term of five years. He sailed on the 16th of October, leaving behind him a record of exacting duties most worthily discharged, and of public confidence in fullest measure earned and given. 'No Governor-General', said Laurier, 'who ever left our shores was followed with so much of the blessings and the affection of the people of Canada.' Before he left, on the 1st of September, he laid the corner-stone of new Parliamentary Buildings at Ottawa, the corner-stone of the original buildings having been laid 56 years before, on the 1st of September 1860 by his brother, King Edward, then Prince of Wales. For early in the year a great national calamity had befallen Canada in the destruction by fire of a large part of the buildings. Parliament was in Session when, just before nine o'clock on the night of the 3rd of February, a fire broke out in the Reading Room, and before it ended, the two Chambers were in ruins and the Clock Tower destroyed. There was some loss of life, happily not great, and much loss of property, including books, though the main Library was saved. Subsequent inquiry into the origin of the fire left suspicion of incendiarism, but no proof. Visitors to Ottawa know well how worthy of a noble site were the buildings erected upon it, eloquent of greatness to come, and, as the Parliamentary home of the first Overseas Federation within the Empire, they were of peculiar historic interest. It was characteristic of the tone and temper of Canadians at this trying time that, while messages of sympathy were being cabled from all quarters, the House of Commons met on the very next day in another

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public building in the city and went on at once with their normal work.

The Session of 1916 opened on the 12th of January and lasted till the 18th of May. The House of Commons elected a new Speaker, a French-Canadian supporter of the Government, Mr. Albert Sévigny. Again the Governor-General's speech indicated an almost exclusively War Session: that it should be so was of the essence of the agreement to prolong the Parliamentary term, which was one of the principal subjects mentioned in the speech. Still a considerable number of Acts were passed, over and above War legislation. So many calls of the war were met by Orders in Council issued under the War Measures Act, that, outside finance, the laws, which were the direct outcome of the war, were comparatively few in number. One of them in the 1916 Session was a Life Insurance Companies Investment Act, under which Canadian Insurance Companies were, during the calendar years 1916 and 1917, to own Canadian securities to the amount of not less than one-half of the increase in their net ledger assets, the object being to ensure a market for Canadian war stock. Financial measures of the Session included, as the result of the Budget, a Business Profits War Tax Act and a Customs Tariff Amendment Act; a War Appropriation Act, which authorized the borrowing for war purposes of $250 millions, as against $100 millions under the corresponding Act of the previous year; and a Public Service Loan Act, which authorized borrowing, not for war purposes, up to $75 millions. The $250 millions under the War Appropriation Act included $50 millions, by which the actual war expenditure had exceeded the authorized expenditure in 1914–15 and 1915–16. The Budget for 1916–17 was presented to the House on the 15th of February. White had a very different tale to tell from the melancholy record and forecast of February 1915. The produce of the late harvest had been 'the greatest by far in the history of the Dominion': the year had seen 'the largest aggregate trade in the history of the Dominion': there had been a progressive increase in the monthly revenue from August 1915 onwards. In his last budget he had estimated for an additional $30 millions from his new war taxes, and a total year's revenue round about $150 millions. At the time of speaking, the financial year promised to end with a revenue of at least $170 millions,

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$20 millions better than the estimate. On the expenditure side there had been a decrease, apart from war expenses, with the result that on the current account for the financial year the revenue was likely to exceed the normal expenditure by $45 millions, which could be devoted to repayment of war expenditure. The actual surplus, after the year ended, proved to be nearly $42 millions : the revenue had reached the record total of $172 millions, the increase being mainly due to the higher Customs tariff ; but meanwhile the extraordinary war expenses had increased the Public Debt by nearly $166 millions, the net Public Debt of the Dominion on the 31st of March 1916 standing at $615 millions. The immense increase in the Public Debt, and the further increase inevitable and inevitably greater as long as the war lasted, called for fresh taxation. In his new Customs Tariff Amendment Act, White made little change in existing duties, and he held that, in the matter of new taxation, the interests of agriculture must be carefully safeguarded. His principal new war tax was an excess profits duty. This was not confined to direct war profits, but was levied in the form of one-fourth of the net profits derived since the beginning of the war in excess of a fixed rate. The rate was 7 per cent. in the case of incorporated companies, and 10 per cent. in the case of other associations and of individuals, various exceptions being allowed. From this source the Minister estimated for additional receipts in respect of the three years ending 31st December 1917, when the tax was to lapse, of from $25 millions to $30 millions, and, including a proportion of this sum, he looked for a revenue in 1916–17 of not far short of $200 millions.

While all the self-governing Dominions were in close co-operation with the Mother Country, the comparative nearness of Canada to England made the relations between the two Governments peculiarly intimate. Canadian Ministers crossed over at frequent intervals. Sir George Foster was in England in the summer of 1916, and was one of the British representatives at the economic conference of the Allies in Paris. Sir Sam Hughes paid two visits to England and the Western Front during the year. White went across in the autumn. In his financial measures he worked in admirable harmony with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Canada was running up a heavy bill in Great Britain : Great Britain had large sums

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to pay for munitions in Canada. The two Treasuries accommodated each other in the friendliest way. The Home Government arranged to lend to the Dominion, if necessary, no less than £30 millions in the calendar year 1916 at the rate of £2½ millions a month. In turn, White advanced to Great Britain the $50 millions, by which the Canadian loan of 1915 had been over-subscribed, and made subsequent further advances. In this connexion, a tribute, as well phrased as it was well deserved, was paid to him in London. At a luncheon given to him, early in November, at the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, Mr. McKenna, who was in the Chair, used the words 'Canada the borrower, under his financial leadership, has become Canada the lender'. The money that he needed to finance the war he borrowed not only in Great Britain and in the United States—$75 millions being raised in New York in March 1916—but also in an increasing degree in Canada itself, for Canada was growing rapidly richer as the war went on. In September he issued a second War Loan, at 97½, in 5 per cent. bonds, free of taxation. He asked for $100 millions, and $214 millions were subscribed.

Sir Charles Davidson was still at work, investigating war purchase scandals, when, in April 1916, another Commission of two judges was appointed by Order in Council for a similar purpose. In the 1916 Session prominence was given to purchases made in the past by the now extinct Shell Committee, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier took the matter up, moving early in March for a Parliamentary inquiry. On the ground that the Shell Committee had acted for, and was responsible to, the British Government, not the Government of Canada, Sir Robert Borden refused to accept Laurier's motion, and it was defeated on a division. Seeing, however, that the Minister of Militia, who had created the Committee, was included in the charges made during the Debate, the Prime Minister brought him home from England, where he was at the time, and appointed a Royal Commission of inquiry, consisting of the Chief Justice of Ontario and a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada. The Commission reported in July: in general they exonerated the Shell Committee, and they cleared the character of Sir Sam Hughes from any imputation of personal dishonesty. It was against him in the main that the attack had been directed,

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and he lent himself to attack. He had courage, energy, initiative, abounding vitality, qualities of real value to Canada, especially in the initial stages of the war. But his merits were offset by grave defects. At a time when harmonious co-operation was of prime importance, he was not an element of harmony. He was reckless in statement, impulsive in action, and his exaggerated self-confidence caused friction on all sides. In this particular instance Canada might with advantage have been at a greater distance from Europe, for his visits to England and to the Western Front did more harm than good. He interfered in other men's work, lectured the highest military authorities, and his utterances did not always make for good relations between the Dominion and the Mother Country. The Prime Minister was very long-suffering, but tension grew. The large number of Canadian soldiers on the other side, the increasing volume and variety of Canadian work and Canadian interests in England and in France, demanded undivided responsibility and more adequate control. From the point of view of expenditure, White was insistent that some change should be made and that a new office should be created for the purpose. Borden, accordingly, decided to appoint a Minister of Overseas Military Forces and communicated his decision to Hughes. Hughes demurred to the appointment as unnecessary, and it transpired that he had on his own responsibility constituted an advisory military council in England. The Prime Minister stood firm, and there could be but one conclusion to the matter. An Order in Council of the 28th of October provided for the office of Minister of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, a second Order of the 31st nominated Sir George Perley to the post, a few days later Hughes's resignation was demanded and given, and Kemp, who had been Chairman of the War Purchasing Commission, succeeded him as Minister of Militia and Defence in Canada.

The Ministry of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, which was thus created, expanded greatly as the war went on, and what was in effect an Overseas Canadian War Office grew up in London. Sir George Perley held the appointment of Minister for about a year. Then, upon the formation of the Coalition Government, Sir Edward Kemp succeeded him, exchanging the post of Minister of Militia and Defence in Canada for the administration of the Overseas Forces. By

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an Order in Council of 11th April 1918 he was given the help of an Overseas Military Council, constituted on the same principle as the Militia Council at Ottawa.

During his term of office Hughes had worked heart and soul for Canada. Latterly he had recast the military districts of the Dominions; he had multiplied training camps, among them one in Ontario, which called forth no little criticism; he had founded a new Arsenal, and from first to last, since the beginning of the war, he had been indefatigable in raising a Canadian Army and enlisting recruits. In this year, 1916, in all the democratic communities of the Empire, the vital question of man power became more and more acute. More and more the demand for fighting men exceeded the supply, and the democracies were faced with the problem how far a purely voluntary system met or could meet either the necessities or the equities of the case. Everywhere the section of public opinion, which favoured or tended reluctantly to favour compulsion in one form or another, gathered strength. Everywhere the difficulty was approached by the Governments in much the same tentative way, by taking stock of the available manhood, instituting or trying to institute some kind of registration, organizing in a systematic way voluntary war effort and voluntary recruitment, seeking out every possible source of partial solution, before deciding in the last resort upon compulsion by law. The Governor-General's speech in January 1916 stated that 120,000 Canadian soldiers had crossed the sea. A year later, the speech which opened the Session of 1917 recorded that more than 165,000 had been dispatched in 1916 alone, and that the aggregate number of enlistments in Canada since the beginning of the war was nearly 400,000. Sir Robert Borden gave further details in a speech to the House of Commons at Ottawa on the 22nd of January 1917. By the end of 1916, 280,000 men had been sent overseas, and the actual number of enlistments in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces at the time when he spoke was just under 393,000. But this total did not include some few units under arms in Canada but not intended for the front: it did not include 3,300 in the Canadian and 1,600 in the British Naval forces: nor did it include, among others, Canadian lumbermen and railway construction battalions for the front. An Order in Council of the 25th of March 1916 was concerned with the

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pay of a lumbermen's battalion, the 24th Overseas Canadian Forestry Battalion. Another Order in Council of the 4th of April, issued in response to a request from the Home Government, authorized the formation of a labour battalion of 1,038 men of all ranks, which was definitely declared to be included in the half-million to which Canada had been pledged on New Year's Day 1916. All in all, when Borden spoke in January 1917, well over 300,000 had gone overseas from Canada to serve in the war in one capacity or another, and well over 430,000 had enlisted for some kind of War Service. By this date the wastage by casualties amounted to 70,000. In proportion to the population, in view of the great and growing demand for her products, making it impossible to deplete too heavily her labour supply, Canada had made a great and splendid effort, but still it fell far short of reaching, much more of maintaining, the 500,000 standard. In the first three months of 1916 recruiting was all that could be desired, and the outlook was most hopeful. Eighty-eight thousand enlisted in the quarter, but subsequently the monthly returns fell off with a steady and growing decrease, and the last seven months of the year realized only 58,000 recruits, two-thirds of the number who had joined the colours in the first quarter of the year. Meanwhile, though 1916 was not, in any special measure, Canada's year at the front, Canadians saw heavy fighting, and month by month the casualty list grew longer.

As in other countries, so in Canada, there was a certain amount of agitation against the war, and sinister influences were constantly at work, trying to counter the call to arms. They included pacifist fanatics, in Canada an almost negligible quantity, extreme exponents of French-Canadian nationalism, not so negligible, and pro-German or anti-British Americans, among whom was conspicuous the Consul-General for the United States in Vancouver City. So unfriendly was his attitude that, in an Order in Council of the 3rd of June 1916, the Dominion Government expressed a hope that he might be 'transferred to a sphere of operations beyond the bounds of this Dominion'. Western farmers were apprehensive of losing their labour supply: shortage of labour had already caused delay in harvesting the abundant crops of 1915, and in the Order in Council just quoted reference was made to the fact that labourers were wanted to assist in ploughing and seeding

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in the prairie provinces. But the plain fact was that go-as-you-please methods no longer met the exigencies of the case. As far back as April 1916 delegates from some of the provincial recruiting Committees waited upon the Prime Minister to urge registration and compulsion. In that month the New Brunswick Legislature passed a unanimous resolution to the effect that 'Parliament should pass an Act calling to the colours all men of suitable military age'. A Canadian National Service League came into being, and that something must be done was evidently the trend of public opinion, as the months went on and the monthly returns of recruits fell off. In August 1916 the Government took action. An Order in Council of the 16th of that month provided for a Director of Recruiting in each military district of the Dominion, to supervise recruiting in his district, and to co-ordinate all the agencies connected with recruiting, civil or military, due regard being had in the matter of enlistment to the requirements of the national industries. Provision was also made for the appointment of a Director-General of Recruiting, and a system of badges was instituted, to be worn by men who had offered themselves for Military Service but had not been accepted, or who had actually served and been honourably discharged. Although recruiting under this scheme was to be conducted with an eye to the labour supply required for purposes of national importance, still the contemplated organization was essentially a military organization; the work was to be conducted under the supervision of the military authorities; the Director-General and Directors were to be constituted members of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces; and early in September another Order in Council strengthened the hands of the recruiting agencies by promulgating stringent regulations against obstruction to their work at meetings or otherwise. But later in September there were further developments, and various Orders in Council were issued on the 20th and 23rd which made a fundamental change in the Government programme. The recruiting regulations were revised: the actual work of recruiting was left to be carried on by district recruiting officers under military control; but it was to be co-ordinated with National Service, and the recruiting organization, which had been created in August, was converted into a National Service organization, consisting of a Director-General of National Service and a Board

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of twelve Directors, who were to work directly under the Prime Minister, not under the Minister of Militia. In other words, while the vital object of providing the required number of soldiers was steadily kept in view, the scheme was made more comprehensive than before and was divorced from its purely military connexion. The first Director-General to be appointed was Sir Thomas Tait, who had had Australian experience as Chairman of the Commissioners of Railways in the State of Victoria. There was some misunderstanding at the outset and within a month Tait resigned, being succeeded by Mr. R. B. Bennett, who sat for Calgary in the House of Commons. The composition of the Board, especially after Tait's resignation, was criticized as a party organization, predominantly Conservative. An effort was thereupon made to constitute a committee which would not be open to any such charge, and Borden invited Sir Wilfrid Laurier's co-operation, but without success. Bennett and his colleagues, however, went to work with a will, evolving a scheme of registration, to be put into force in the New Year; and the Prime Minister, having in the latter part of October published a strong appeal to the people of Canada, in December took the field himself in a National Service campaign. Throughout the month, in company with Bennett, he made speeches from Quebec to Victoria; and coming events cast their shadows before: while Laurier and other Liberal leaders stood aloof, the movement was received with most enthusiasm in the West. No threat or pledge was made that conscription would follow in the event of an inadequate response to the appeal. In August Hughes declared that there was no fear of conscription, that it would not be necessary, though before the year was out he advocated conscription. Borden was more cautious; he laid stress upon the importance of maintaining national unity, and all men knew that the path of national unity was not along the lines of conscription; he stated definitely that the National Service proposals were not connected with conscription, but, at the same time, when asked by Canadian labour leaders to give them an assurance that conscription would not be proposed, he entirely declined, adding that, while he hoped that it would not be necessary, if it should eventually prove to be the only effective method for preserving the existence of the State with its institutions and liberties, he should then consider it to be

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necessary and would not hesitate to act accordingly. It will be remembered that 1916 was the year in which conscription was adopted by Great Britain and rejected by Australia. None of the democracies of the Empire liked conscription, but all of them, had not party feeling and personal antipathies intervened, would readily have adopted it in preference to losing the war. All turned upon the duration of the war. Meanwhile Canada embarked upon what Bennett described as the last voluntary effort: the sequel was in the womb of 1917.

The responsible leaders of the Dominion were at pains, by precept, practice, and organization, to prevent waste of the resources of Canada, whether in men, money or material, to use them to the best advantage, and to add to the material resources by stimulating production. White, among others, from his own financial standpoint, strongly and repeatedly urged the duty of saving in every form and of investing the savings in Canada; and he enlisted the Canadian bankers on his side. An Order in Council in the middle of March provided for a campaign of production and thrift, a sum of $50,000 being allotted for the purpose, to be spent under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture, with the special purpose of encouraging agricultural production. A later Order of the 6th of June, following on a lead given from England, established a scientific and industrial research Committee, consisting of some of the Ministers who formed a sub-Committee of the Privy Council for the purpose, and an honorary advisory Committee of nine members representing the scientific and industrial interests of Canada. This was carried further in the following year by Act of Parliament. The Research Council Act, which became law in August 1917, constituted, under the Privy Council Sub-Committee, an Honorary Advisory Council for scientific and industrial research of not more than eleven members with a paid administrative chairman. Canada had long begun to think not only of the war but of what was coming after the war, and of outlets for Canadian commodities and Canadian trade in reconstructing other countries, over and above her own reconstruction. Other countries were doing the same, and more than one French Commission visited Canada. Accordingly, an Order in Council of the 9th of May 1916 provided for a Trade Commission to investigate openings for Canadian products in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium,

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and Italy, where the Dominion might be able to supply what had before the war been imported from Germany and Austria. In a word, not in spite of the war, but because of the war, Canada in 1916 had a prosperous present and a widening future. Everything that she could produce or make was wanted for the war, and the markets in the Allied countries were comparatively near. Canada was spending much money, but was making much, and could draw with perfect security upon the coming time. All classes prospered. The cost of living rose, but in no comparison with the rise in Europe, and ample penalties against food profiteering were in November prescribed by Order in Council. The harvest was disappointing: a frost set in in August which badly damaged the crops, especially in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, but high prices compensated the farmer for shortage of grain. The revenue receipts for the first half of the financial year exceeded the estimates by many millions of dollars, and immense subscriptions to war charities told of well-filled as well as open pockets. It was a year of strenuous patriotic endeavour by men and women alike, when patriotism was reinforced by present profit and prospective possibilities. The one great cause of anxiety was the problem of man power, and, consequent upon it, the growing resentment which was aroused in English-speaking Canada against the truculent nationalism which obstructed recruiting in the Province of Quebec.

War is a great solvent. It lets loose all kinds of forces and gives an impetus to all kinds of movements. What in easy-going times are treated as fads, in days of war are promoted to practical politics, for the conditions created by a war of any magnitude are so exceptional as to leave little outside the war to startle and alarm. The Temperance movement and the Women's Suffrage movement both gained ground in Canada during the war to the extent of triumphant success. Before 1916 Temperance legislation had gone markedly forward since the beginning of the war, especially in Western Canada, and in 1916 it was prominent both in the Dominion Parliament and in the Provincial Legislatures. The Dominion Parliament passed 'an Act in aid of Provincial Legislation prohibiting or restricting the sale or use of intoxicating liquors', which, amended in 1917, gave strong support to such laws as were in force or might be brought into force in the provinces, by

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penalizing the importation of alcoholic liquor into a province from outside Canada or from another province with intent to violate provincial law. The great Province of Ontario passed a sweeping measure, prohibiting the public sale of intoxicating liquors and closing the liquor shops. The prohibition was to continue during the war, and subsequently it was to be decided by referendum whether or not the law should remain permanently upon the statute book of the Province. In 1917 the movement was carried still further in the provinces, and supplementing Orders in Council were passed by the Dominion Government. Eventually an Order in Council of 11th March 1918 recited that laws had been passed in every province of Canada prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor, and were actually in force in every province except Quebec, where the law was to come into force on 1st May 1919. The Order then proceeded to prohibit as from 1st April 1918, during the continuance of the war and for twelve months afterwards, the manufacture of intoxicating liquor within the Dominion, and the delivery of such liquor in any prohibited area. Canada thus set out to be a 'dry' country, though when April 1919 came round, the Province of Quebec, by means of a plebiscite, pronounced heavily against total prohibition. The Women's Suffrage movement ran much the same course: the provinces gave a lead to the Dominion, and among the provinces the lead was in the West. In 1917 the Dominion Parliament went far in the direction of conceding the women's claim in the Military Voters Act and the War Time Elections Act; and the following year, 1918, saw the long controversy finally settled by the passing of the Act 'to confer the Electoral Franchise upon Women'. All the signs of the time in Canada in 1916 pointed in favour of the Liberal party. A General Election in the Province of Quebec brought back the Liberal Ministry with a much increased majority. The same result followed a General Election in Nova Scotia; while on the Pacific side a complete *débâcle* befell the Conservatives of British Columbia. Under the long and strong leadership of Sir Richard MacBride the province had been a solid stronghold of Conservatism: the polling of 1916 entirely reversed the position, and brought the Liberals into power with a sweeping majority. Apart from the war there was no question as to the trend of public opinion; but, while party politics continued to run their

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course and party feeling would have vent, the war was first and foremost in the minds and hearts of the vast majority of Canadian citizens, and the man who would point the way to win the war, and risk and take the steps needed to that end, was the leader, whatever might be his party label, whom Canada would follow.

Sir Robert Borden had now been Prime Minister for over five years, but had not yet represented Canada at an Imperial Conference, for the normal Imperial Conference, which should have been held in the ordinary course in 1915, had been postponed. At length, at the end of 1916, it was decided to hold a meeting in London in the coming spring, the summons being rather to a Cabinet than to a Conference, an invitation to the Prime Ministers of the Dominions to 'Special and continuous Meetings of the War Cabinet (of which for the purpose they will be members)'. In the result an Imperial War Cabinet and an Imperial War Conference were held side by side, the meetings being as a rule on alternate days. The arrangements for the Canadian Parliamentary Session were made so as to enable the Prime Minister, and those of his colleagues who were to accompany him, to attend the meetings.

The Session of 1917 opened on the 19th of January: the House adjourned on the 7th of February: it met again on the 19th of April, and Parliament was not prorogued till the 20th September, the prorogation being followed by dissolution on the 6th of October. A new Speaker was again elected by the Commons, Mr. Sévigny having left the Chair to join the Government as Minister of Inland Revenue. His successor was Mr. Rhodes, who, as Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees, had shown his fitness for the post. The Government had lost by death in 1916 one of three French-Canadian Ministers, Mr. Casgrain, the Postmaster-General, and Mr. Sévigny's appointment compensated for the loss. The Duke of Devonshire made his first appearance in opening Parliament, and the Governor-General's speech was of much interest, alike in form and in matter, a fitting prelude to a year which was to be memorable in many ways to Canada. For it was the Jubilee year of the Dominion; it was the first year of an Imperial War Cabinet for the Empire; it was marked by a General Election in Canada upon a vital issue and by a previous partial Coalition of political parties; it was

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HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

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a year of heavy fighting for Canadians and much renown; it was the year in which the United States entered into the war. In August Canada lost, by the death of Lord Grey, a man who was second to none in pride in the Dominion, love of its people, and belief in its future; while earlier in the year, in March, all classes throughout the Dominion were saddened by the news of another death, that of the Duchess of Connaught. 'She has passed away,' said Sir George Foster, when the House met again, 'but not from our memories.' There was a note of confidence in the Governor-General's speech, and an indication that those who were leading Canada, and whose views it embodied, were turning their eyes more and more to the end of the war and to reconstruction. It paid a fitting tribute to the fighting men of Canada, commented upon the effort already made, the numbers sent to fight, the patriotism shown by Canadians at home as well as in the field, and it looked forward to Canada's 'ability and capacity to exercise an ever-increasing influence in bringing the war to a victorious conclusion'. There was reference to the commercial, industrial, and financial stability of the Dominion, to the readjustment of conditions at the end of the war, and the preparation of important new measures to aid in meeting the new conditions. Mention was made of the Jubilee, of the coming meeting in London, of National Service, and notice was given that a resolution would be proposed again to prolong the life of Parliament.

The Minister of Public Works, Mr. Robert Rogers, and Mr. Hazen, the Minister of Marine, were selected to go to London with the Prime Minister, and to send the three Ministers off in time, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in the first stage of the Session, handsomely helped on the Government business. There was little legislation before the Recess, but it included the War Appropriation Act of the year, which authorized borrowing up to $500 millions, double the large amount of the preceding year, and a Public Services Loan Act, which also increased the sum asked for and granted for similar purposes in 1916–17, the limit of borrowing being now $100 millions. The Ministers had not come back when the House resumed its sittings on the 19th of April. Foster acted for the Prime Minister, and on the 24th White brought in his Budget, on this occasion after the end of the previous financial year.

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The Finance Minister, who was very brief, had again good reason to congratulate the House and himself. During the Recess, in March, a third Canadian Loan had been issued. This time $150 millions in 20-year 5 per cent. bonds at 96 were asked for, and the amount was over-subscribed by $100 millions. The value of the total international trade of Canada in the past financial year had been more than $2,000 millions, very nearly double the annual value of the trade before the war. The revenue of the past year, largely exceeding the estimate, had reached the great sum of $232 millions, of which Customs had provided $134 millions, Excise $24 millions, and the Business Profits Tax $12½ millions. The expenditure, excluding direct war expenses, but including sums entirely due to the war and amounting to $25 millions, for interest on the constantly growing war debt and for soldiers' pensions, had been $172 millions. The current account of 1916–17 therefore showed a handsome balance of $60 millions to be applied in reducing the capital amount of the debt. White calculated the total war outlay up to date at $600 millions. The national debt, he stated, had risen from $336 millions before the war to over $900 millions, and by the end of the new fiscal year might reach $1,200 millions. When the accounts were finally made up, the net Public Debt of the Dominion on the 31st of March 1917 stood at $879 millions, the increase in the year having been $264 millions. It was a very cheering record, fully substantiating the reference made in the Governor-General's speech to the financial stability of the Dominion. But already power had been taken to borrow a further $500 millions to meet the war bill of 1917–18, and the Minister looked round for additional sources of revenue. A tax on luxuries seemed reasonable ; articles of luxury were imported, and the tax, if imposed, would be an additional Customs Duty. But the luxuries came largely from France, Canada was bound by the terms of her commercial treaty with France, and in any case Canadians would be reluctant to penalize their Ally in her time of trouble. Then there was the question of levying an income-tax, but once more White found good reasons against such a course. Canada, he again pointed out, was not, like older lands, a country of large accumulated wealth and incomes from investments, an income-tax would fall hardly upon the professional and salaried classes, who for the most

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part had not profited by the war, and in many instances had suffered, incomes were already taxed by the Provinces and the Municipalities, and finally the cost of collecting the tax would be very heavy. Accordingly, the Minister fell back upon the Business Profits Tax and decided to increase it. In lieu of taking 25 per cent. of profits in excess of the 7 and 10 per cent. specified in the existing law, he proposed, in respect of profits made in the calendar year 1917, to take 50 per cent. of all profits in excess of 15 per cent. and 75 per cent. of all profits in excess of 20 per cent. The law was amended on these lines.

So far the Parliamentary course of finance in 1917 had run smoothly, as in previous years of the war. White's measures up to date had been well and wisely framed, had met with general acceptance, and had been fully justified by results; but this particular year was an exceptional year and finance had to conform to policy. On the 25th of July, the day on which the amending Business Profits War Tax Bill became law, the Minister made a further financial statement in the House. On the previous day the Military Service Bill had been read the third time. It involved, so White explained, at once an increase and an acceleration of war expenses, the additional cost of 100,000 soldiers. Hence he required more money and consequently further war taxation; and, in spite of the objections which he had previously urged against such a measure, he proposed an Income War Tax. As the Bill eventually passed into law on the following 20th of September, it exempted from the tax incomes not exceeding, in the case of unmarried persons, widowers, and widows without dependants, $1,500 per annum, in the case of married persons $3,000 per annum: above these limits all incomes were taxed at the rate of 4 per cent., and incomes exceeding $6,000 per annum were subjected to a graduated supertax, the maximum of which was 25 per cent. for incomes of more than $100,000 per annum. Those who paid the Business Profits Tax were *pro tanto* exempted from the Income Tax. The three years, in respect of which the Business Profits Tax was levied, were due to expire on the 31st of December 1917, and the amending law had not prolonged the time. On the 25th of July White stated that it was not intended to renew the tax, but at a later date he recanted and announced that war-time profits

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would continue to be taxed. His difficulties were inevitably increasing, as the war dragged on, and during the latter part of the Session political controversy intruded into the sphere of finance.

On the 16th of May the Prime Minister came back to the House of Commons at Ottawa, bringing with him a gold mace presented to the House by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London, to replace the loss caused by the fire of the previous year. This gift was supplemented in 1918 by a Black Rod for the Senate, presented, on behalf of the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association, by the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker of the House of Commons. Two days later he made a statement respecting his recent visit to Europe. The meeting of the leaders of the Empire in London had been memorable and prolonged, marred only by the absence of any representative from the Commonwealth of Australia. From the 28th of March to the 27th of April the Imperial War Cabinet, first of its kind, and the Imperial War Conference held their sittings, and Canada, with Borden for her spokesman, had taken a leading part in the deliberations and the decisions. It was Borden who, at the Conference, had moved the resolution on the future constitution of the Empire, to be 'based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same', and recognizing 'the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations': the decision to hold an annual Imperial Cabinet was in entire consonance with his views; and, on the eve of his return to Canada, he had written to Mr. Lloyd George, referring to what had taken place as 'a notable advance in the development of constitutional relations', and expressing his confidence 'that the usage thus initiated will gradually but surely develop into a recognized Convention'. His policy for Canada, one of active partnership, not of detachment, left Sir Wilfrid Laurier cold. At the end of his speech the Prime Minister dwelt upon the extreme gravity of the military situation; he had come to the conclusion that the voluntary system would not yield further substantial results, and he announced that early proposals would be made to provide reinforcements by compulsory military enlistment upon a selective basis. Not less than 50,000 addi-

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tional men were required, probably 100,000. Laurier, who followed him, reserved judgement upon whatever proposals might be forthcoming, but once more he reaffirmed his unfaltering conviction that Canada must see the war through to the end. The differences between Ministers and Oppositions in the Overseas Dominions, where Oppositions existed, during the war were not differences of ordinary party views. They were differences in degree rather than in kind. Ministers went across to the centre of action and saw with their own eyes: they formed a higher estimate of the necessities of the case, of the urgency of the danger, than those who remained at a distance, living their daily lives. One after another brought back the same tale, the need for greater and yet greater effort. They came back weighted with a sense of the magnitude of the task in hand and faced with the difficulty of bringing the realities home to the minds of a public far removed from the fighting front. The vast majority of the citizens were willing enough to make whatever sacrifices they were persuaded were necessary to win the war, but they had themselves no personal knowledge, and the measure of their effort was in proportion to the confidence which they felt in the judgement of the men who reported to and advised them.

The National Service Board had been constituted, in the Prime Minister's words, to ascertain the available manhood of Canada, for the purpose of throwing the whole weight of the country into the war. The Board launched their registration scheme at the beginning of 1917, and the first week of the year was constituted a National Service week. For the moment recruiting improved, but the figures soon dwindled again. It was not the fault of the Board, they did much good and useful work. After the Military Service Bill had been passed, and when the Board was in consequence being dissolved, Bennett gave statistics which showed that to the cards of inquiry which had been circulated a million and a half answers had been received, and 475,000 men were available for military service, subject to the calls of other national requirements. But it was one thing to collect data and another to enlist soldiers. It will be remembered that as far back as the 1st of January 1916 the maximum limit of the Canadian Army had been fixed at 500,000, and that over a year later, in January 1917, the number enlisted for

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overseas service in the Expeditionary Force was rather less than 400,000. The figures given from time to time were not always consistent with each other, but up to the 30th of April 1917 the enlistments in the force numbered 412,000, up to the 31st of May 418,000, up to the 30th of June 424,000, and in the middle of November they were still short of 450,000. At the end of May there were 320,000 overseas, of whom 136,000 were actually in France. It was a year of very heavy fighting for the Canadians; the casualties were correspondingly heavy; and the need for reinforcements in proportion. Month after month the number of casualties largely exceeded the number of enlistments: in April and May, months of hard fighting, they numbered nearly 24,000, while the enlistments were less than 12,000. By an Order in Council of the 16th of March the Minister of Militia, Sir Edward Kemp, tried the plan of calling for 50,000 men to enlist in the active Militia for home defence alone, in order to release an equal number for overseas service, but a few weeks proved this last experiment to be a failure and there was no alternative left but compulsion. In all the countries which were faced with the same problem as now exercised the Canadian Government, the argument in favour of compulsion was one of justice as well as of necessity; and in Canada the plea of justice was coupled with no little racial feeling. All through the war Ontario and the West, with its large proportion of citizens who had been born in the old country, supplied, relatively to population, by far the largest number of recruits; the Maritime Provinces on the eastern seaboard had only a moderate record, but the Province of Quebec was by a long way at the bottom of the list. Well on in 1917 French-Canadian enlistments in the whole of Canada were under 20,000; feeling in English-speaking Canada against the French element in the population grew bitter; bitterness was intensified by outrageous speeches and writings of extreme Nationalists in Quebec; and the fighting French-Canadians at the Front, numbering among them, as has been told, many sons of the best French families in the Dominion, resented, no less than British Canadians, the ill-timed influences which held back French Canada from doing its duty.

There was some little delay in bringing in the Military Service Bill which had been foreshadowed. The delay was due to Borden's efforts to form a Coalition Government on the basis

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of accepting Compulsory Military Service as a national necessity recognized by all parties. He negotiated with Laurier personally and in writing, offering equal representation of Liberals and Conservatives in the Government, and, while insisting that a Conscription Bill should be passed, he was prepared not to put it into force until a General Election had pronounced for or against the measure. Laurier, however, would not agree to conscription, and on the 11th of June Borden introduced the Bill. Compulsory Military Service was no new thing in Canada, at least in name. It had been of the essence of the old French régime, and immediately after the passing of the British North America Act, the Militia law of 1868, fathered by the great French-Canadian leader, Sir George Cartier, provided for compulsory service in the Militia, outside as well as within the Dominion, in case of national emergency. The principle was retained in the Militia law of 1904, passed by the Laurier Government, but in this later law the wording of the 1868 Act was slightly modified. All male inhabitants of Canada, being British subjects, between the ages of 18 and 60, were declared to be liable to service in the Militia, and 'the Governor in Council may place the Militia, or any part thereof, on active service anywhere in Canada, and also beyond Canada for the defence thereof'. The last words of this provision divided Borden and Laurier. Laurier contended that they did not cover the case of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France, which was a force for invasion not for defence, Canada not being directly attacked by Germany. Borden held that the law, as it stood, already gave such compulsory powers as were required, except in one respect, that it provided only for levy by ballot, whereas the existing conditions of Canada, including the necessity for not further depleting the national industries of skilled workers, demanded that the Army should be reinforced by a process of selection. Very plainly and very earnestly on the first reading the Prime Minister set forth the facts of the case. No alternative was left between compulsion or allowing the four Canadian Divisions at the Front to dwindle away. He pleaded that it was a point of honour to keep up to strength the soldiers of Canada, who were fighting the good fight, and so many of whom had already fallen. Opinion was divided in Parliament and out of it. Many Liberals favoured conscription. French-Canadian feeling was overwhelmingly

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against it. Labour in Canada, as elsewhere in the Empire, was in sentiment either actively opposed to or reluctant to accept it. At the beginning of June the Trade and Labour Congress of Canada pronounced against it; but later in the year the opposition in Labour ranks to a large extent died away. The Bill came up for second reading on the 18th of June and, influenced no doubt by the fact that in Australia conscription had been defeated through the medium of the referendum, Laurier moved as an amendment that a referendum should be taken on the issue in Canada. He accused the Government of broken pledges and denounced the attempt to carry a measure so controversial and far-reaching through a moribund Parliament. The debate was prolonged: some French-Canadian Conservatives opposed the Government, a larger number of Liberals supported it: on the 5th of July Laurier's amendment was rejected by 111 votes to 62. On the following day the second reading was carried by 118 votes to 55. On the 24th of July the Bill was read a third time by 102 votes to 44, Laurier protesting to the end against it as an instrument of coercion and a source of disunion. It passed the Senate in due course, and eventually became law upon the 29th of August. It was a very moderate measure of compulsion and most carefully safeguarded. Its provisions applied to all British male subjects in Canada between the ages of 20 and 45, but they were to be called up in six classes, and the youngest men, between the ages of 20 and 34, being unmarried or childless widowers, were to be first called up. Various sections of the community were exempted, including Mennonite and Dukhobor conscientious objectors, and very ample provision was made for hearing and adjudicating upon individual claims to exemption, local tribunals, appeal tribunals, and ultimately a Central Appeal Judge, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Canada. Finally, the total number of reinforcements to be procured through the machinery of the Act was limited to 100,000.

On the 17th of July, after the Military Service Bill had been read a second time, but before the third reading, Borden moved a resolution to extend the term of the existing Parliament for one year, up to the 7th of October 1918. He was very explicit that the Government did not come to the House in suppliant guise, as fearing an appeal to the electorate, their only object

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being, in the words of the Governor-General's speech, to avoid 'the distraction and confusion consequent upon a General Election at so critical a time'. He referred to the 300,000 Canadian electors on active service overseas, very many of whom would inevitably be unable to record their votes; and he expressed his own earnest personal desire for the maintenance of national unity, only to be secured by postponing a General Election with its accompaniments of bitterness and recrimination and by forming a government which would unite both political parties on fair and equal terms. He asked for unanimous assent to the resolution, otherwise it would be futile to apply to the British Parliament for the necessary Act, and the proposal to prolong the term could not and would not be pressed. His appeal was vain, as he had probably anticipated. The Military Service Bill, and the rejection of Laurier's referendum amendment, had embittered the official Opposition. Laurier declaimed, in fine party style, that 'these are no longer British institutions, they are simply, not German, but Prussian institutions', and grandiloquently he refused to consent to withholding from the Canadian people control of their Parliament. A division gave the Government a majority of 20, but a party majority was useless for the purpose, and the next day Borden announced that no further action would be taken in the matter.

The ground had now been cleared, a General Election was inevitable, and plans were shaped accordingly. Two Bills were brought in by the Government, both with a view to a war-time election, and both limited in time to the period of the war and of subsequent demobilization. The first, the Military Voters Bill, was read a first time in the House of Commons on the 18th of August, and passed the third reading on the 31st, no division being taken on first, second, or third reading. The second, the War Time Elections Bill, read the first time on the 6th of September, after the Military Voters Bill had been disposed of, met with more opposition, but passed the House on the 15th, and both Bills became law on the 20th of September. One main feature of both Acts was the enfranchisement for the purposes of the Acts of a very large number of women. It was estimated that half a million of women obtained votes for the coming election under the War Time Elections Act. At this date the Women's Suffrage question

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in Canada was in a state of chaos. The Dominion franchise was the franchise for Provincial elections; but, whereas various provinces had given the vote to women, women had not so far been held qualified to vote at Dominion elections, and in the case of the two youngest provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta, both of which had adopted female suffrage, voting for the Dominion was expressly confined to males. The general effect of the two Acts of 1917, as regards women voters, was that the Military Voters Act enfranchised, for the purposes of the coming election, all women, qualified in other respects, who were actively engaged in war service, and that the War Time Elections Act gave the vote under similar conditions to wives, widows, mothers, daughters of past or present members of the actual Overseas Forces. The Military Voters Act had been introduced as a measure to make more adequate provision for taking the votes of soldiers during the war, and military electors under the terms of the Act included all British subjects connected with Canada, who were actively engaged in war work, whether they were ordinarily resident in Canada or not, whether they were white or Indian, whether they were males or females, whether they were minors under 21 or adults. The War Time Elections Act went still further. It gave the vote for the time being to the womenkind even of dead Canadian soldiers. It constituted a kind of premium on war service for the nation, it was an effort to ensure that the fullest possible expression should be given at the polls through the next of kin to the voice of those who had fought or were still fighting for their country. Conversely, it disqualified voters of alien enemy birth who had been naturalized in recent years, and those who were conscientious objectors and exempted from combatant service. In so far as it was a disfranchising measure, it lent itself to opposition, and Laurier moved an amendment on the second reading to the effect that abridgement of the electoral franchise enjoyed in any province by any class of His Majesty's subjects 'would be contrary to the peace, order, and good government of Canada'. The Government, however, carried their Bill by somewhat narrow majorities, and it passed into law. It was an interesting example of *ad hoc* legislation and a kind of electoral endowment of practical patriotism, but it lent itself to the criticism which Laurier directed against it, when the new Parliament

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met, that it created 'a special electorate in view of an impending election'.

Before the Session ended, various other important measures were passed. One Act gave direct legal authority for war-time offices which had already been created by Order in Council passed in the previous year, the Minister of the Overseas Military Forces, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Department of Militia and Defence, and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. A War Charities Act, found necessary in Canada as elsewhere, was directed against possible abuse of the many appeals made in the name of the war. A Soldier Settlement Act followed upon a conference which had been held on the subject at the beginning of the year between the Dominion and the Provincial Governments. It constituted a Soldier Settlement Board of three paid Commissioners, and the benefits of the Act were not confined to Canadian soldiers alone. An Act for the acquisition of the capital stock of the Canadian Northern Railway transferred to the Dominion the ownership of a railway system which operated in all parts of Canada.

Throughout an exceptionally critical Session Sir Robert Borden steered his way with skill and success. He consistently acted up to his repeated professions that his one object was national security and the maintenance of national honour. He admitted no compromise on measures, such as Compulsory Military Service, which he deemed to be indispensable to that end; but, from the same point of view, he used every effort to preserve national unity, sparing of party recrimination, indifferent to personal interest. When forced to fight, however, he proved himself to be a master of political strategy, and he came back from the fight with strength renewed and added reputation. His difficult course brought him into collision with colleagues as well as opponents. In June the Military Service Bill entailed the loss of a French-Canadian member of the Cabinet, Mr. Patenaude. In August, on wholly different grounds, a more prominent figure in the Government resigned, Mr. Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works, who had accompanied the Prime Minister to England in the spring. A pugnacious partisan, Rogers, like Sir Sam Hughes, had been a conspicuous mark for Opposition attacks. Resenting his treatment as the outcome of party spite, he took exception

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to the Prime Minister's policy as not being sufficiently militant, and retired from office. In the correspondence which passed, and which was read to the House, Borden was at pains to defend at some length his own non-partisan attitude, and stated that, although he had not so far succeeded in uniting parties, he had not yet given up hope of success. He spoke of himself, with truth, as 'possessed of considerable patience and perseverance', and, without relaxing his efforts to form a national combination, none the less, by the new electoral laws, he ensured that in the coming election the voice of those who were resolved with him to take any and every step to win the war should be fully and potently heard.

It was on the 21st of August that Rogers's resignation was announced in the House of Commons. At the time coalition seemed farther off than ever. Early in the month a conference of Western Liberals, on whom much depended, had been held at Winnipeg, and the result had been compromise upon the questions at issue but, as regards personalities, evidence of strong antagonism to Borden, of strong loyalty to Laurier. Later came indications that many of the Western men might be prepared to coalesce with their opponents even under Conservative leadership, provided that the leader was not Borden, and Sir George Foster's name was mentioned. But the Conservatives had something to say on the subject. As August was going out they held a meeting at Ottawa. Borden insisted upon the vital necessity of forming a Union Government and offered to make way for Foster or to retire altogether, if his own personality stood in the way of the one thing needful. But, led by Foster, the gathering was at one in enthusiastic adherence to the man who had guided them and Canada so patiently and so well. The Conservatives knew their own minds. The Liberals were in two minds: they wavered between loyalty to party and to Laurier, and growing conviction that the country's cause demanded reconstruction of the Government on a non-party basis, coupled with adoption of compulsory military service, an end only to be obtained by accepting the Conservative Prime Minister of the day. Their ranks were divided, as when in 1911 the reciprocity issue traversed ordinary party lines. Negotiations went forward, the electoral Bills became law, strengthening Borden's position, Parliament expired, and the General Election drew

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near. Time made for the man who knew how to wait and patience and perseverance won in the end. On the 12th of October the public learnt that a National Government was an accomplished fact. The strongest of the old Ministers retained their offices. Three were in any case indispensable, the Prime Minister, Sir George Foster, and Sir Thomas White. Thirteen Conservatives and ten Liberals formed the new Government. None of the latter were drawn from Laurier's former colleagues, but, nevertheless, they were leading exponents of Canadian Liberalism. Rowell was the foremost Liberal of Ontario. Sifton, Premier of Alberta, Calder from Saskatchewan, Crerar from Winnipeg, represented the Liberals of the West; Carvell and McLean those of the Maritime Provinces. Labour was represented by Mr. Robertson. A Liberal soldier, General Mewburn, took over the Department of Militia and Defence. Naval Service and Marine were entrusted to another Liberal, a business man of Montreal, Colonel Ballantyne. Two Conservative French-Canadian Ministers, Sévigny and Blondin, still remained in office: both lost their seats at the polls. There were two inner circles of the Government, a War Committee of the Council, and a Reconstruction and Development Committee. The Prime Minister was Chairman in either case, and the Vice-Chairman was a Liberal. A new office was created in furtherance of the far-reaching programme presented by the Government, should they be returned to office, a Ministry of Immigration and Colonization, the Minister being the Saskatchewan Liberal, Mr. Calder.

This was the strong combination that appealed to the Dominion on national grounds. The Election was fixed for the 17th of December. In November Borden and Laurier issued long addresses and a vigorous electoral campaign began. While it was yet in its early stages, White, in November, placed upon the market a fourth War Loan, the 'Victory War Loan' of 1917. As in March, he asked the public for $150 millions. Five, ten, or twenty years' Victory Bonds for $50 and upwards were offered at par with 5½ per cent. interest. No pains were spared to ensure the success of the loan. A committee was formed to carry out a Victory War Loan campaign, and stirring appeals were made to Canadian patriotism. The result was very striking. Asked for $150 millions, 600,000 Canadians subscribed no less than $546 millions, the relatively large

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subscriptions from the Western Provinces indicating at once the growing prosperity of the West and the strength of Western feeling in favour of resolute prosecution of the war. It was by far the most successful war loan that had been issued in Canada, and its success helped to strengthen the Government.

A little later, while the political campaign was at its height, and within a fortnight of the polling day, a terrible disaster befell Canada, the third within four years. The *Empress of Ireland* tragedy had preceded the war. Midway in the course of the war came the burning of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa; and now, as the war entered on its last year, the third and worst calamity took place, recalling but surpassing the earliest of the three troubles. It seemed as though Canada was to be tried by every phase of tribulation. On the morning of the 6th of December, in Halifax Harbour, busier than ever under war conditions, a French munition ship from New York, laden with high explosives, collided with a Norwegian vessel and blew up. The force of the explosion was appalling. Over 1,200 lives, at the lowest estimate, were lost. Large parts of Halifax on one side of the harbour, of Dartmouth on the other, were laid in ruins, and the townsfolk in thousands were left homeless, exposed to blizzard, midwinter cold, and heavy rains. It was an almost unparalleled climax of death, desolation, and misery, but in proportion to the magnitude of the disaster was the measure of practical sympathy and prompt relief. It came from all quarters, from public and private sources. The Dominion and Provincial Governments, the great cities of Canada, all gave largely. Stores and medical aid were rushed up from New York and Boston.[1] British Colonies sent money. The British Government gave £1 million, and the Lord Mayor of London opened a relief fund.

Halifax was Borden's own city and he was electioneering in the Maritime Provinces when the explosion took place. It called him off from politics, and during the campaign he was unable to go to Western Canada, his speeches being confined to Ontario and the eastern seaboard. Feeling was so bitter in Quebec that in that province he took no personal part in

[1] For an account of the splendid help given by Massachusetts see the chapter on the 'Massachusetts Halifax Relief Committee', Part III, Chap. V, of *The Story of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety*, by George Hinchley Lyman (Boston, 1919).

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the fight, cancelling a meeting which had been arranged for him at Montreal. Even in Ontario, at a centre where the German element was strong, Berlin before the war, but in 1916 renamed Kitchener, he was refused a hearing. Very different was the courtesy extended to his great antagonist. On the 20th of November Laurier completed his 76th year and was within six months of his golden wedding. Yet the old statesman entered on what was to be his last electoral contest with unabated fire and energy. He toured the West as far as Vancouver, and at all points his person and his record gave him great gatherings of respectful hearers. He fought hard, he did not spare his opponents, but none the less he insisted that Canada must see the war through to the end, and that whatever verdict was given by the people upon the conscription law must be respected. In Quebec he had no need of advocacy, but the Premier of the Province, Sir Lomer Gouin, held like himself in high public esteem, was strenuous on his side, as were also his old French-Canadian colleagues, foremost among them Mr. Lemieux. The English-speaking members of his Ministries also for the most part held by him, with one marked exception. Mr. Fielding, who had been his Finance Minister and right-hand man, but who, since the *débâcle* of 1911, had taken no part in public life, now came forward as a supporter, though a very guarded supporter, of the Union Government, and was returned unopposed for a constituency in his native province of Nova Scotia. The West listened to Laurier, but the Western votes were not for him, and the West meant to decide, and with Ontario did decide, the issue. The Liberal leader utterly swept Quebec: out of 65 seats in that province the Government retained but three. He halved the four seats in Prince Edward Island, he had substantial minorities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. But out of 82 constituencies in Ontario he only carried eight, and from Ontario to the Pacific he counted but two followers. An initial Government majority of round about 45 was, when the soldiers' votes had all been counted, raised to 71 in a House of 235 Members. The Government had carried the Dominion by an overwhelming majority. It was in various ways a very notable election. Whereas the Australian soldiers, when polled on the same conscription issue, had been more or less evenly divided, well over 90 per cent. of the Canadians on active

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service cast their votes for the Government and for conscription. In contrast again to Australia, the Canadian women, it would seem, polled heavily on the same side. Assuredly Borden and his colleagues were wise in their generation when they passed the Military Voters and War Time Elections Act. But the election told more than this. It spoke emphatically of the growing power of the growing West and of the determination of English-speaking Canada to say the last word as to the policy of the Dominion. The fight was very largely on racial lines, more so, perhaps, than at any previous Dominion election, and the decision given was that French-Canadian indifference or hostility to the Empire should not prevail. Finally, it was a great personal triumph for Sir Robert Borden. It was a vindication of statesmanship inspired by broad-minded patriotism, coupled with statecraft which, amid multitudinous cross currents, took occasions and men by the hand.

Life, trade, and industry in Canada in 1917, on the one hand reflected the prolongation of the war, on the other were modified by closer co-operation with the United States, after the Republic had in April at length openly joined the ranks of the Allies. The longer the war went on, the more straitened of necessity were the conditions of living, and the more widely extended was Government regulation and control. The wheat harvest of the year was below the average, labour was scarce, but high prices benefited the farmers, and an Order in Council, passed in the middle of April, provided reciprocity with the United States in wheat products, which the Western grain-growers had long desired. In response to a growing public demand, a post of Food Controller was constituted by Order in Council of the 16th of June, the duties being entrusted to Mr. Hanna, a member of the Ontario Government. Canada had abundance of food for her own wants, though the cost was continuously on the increase. The main problem was by prevention of waste and increase of production to meet the urgent needs of the Allied armies and peoples. Almost contemporaneously with the appointment of a Food Controller a Fuel Controller was also appointed. Manufacturing continued to make great strides. The exports of Canadian handiwork were something like eight times as great as before the war; between six and seven hundred factories were making munitions from one end of the Dominion to the other, and

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a notable advance was made in shipbuilding on both the ocean fronts as well as on the Great Lakes.

One event of the year, if nothing else, united all hearts and voices, the Jubilee of the Dominion. At the beginning of the Session the House of Commons appointed a committee to consider how it could most suitably be celebrated, and, in considering and reporting under the chairmanship of Sir George Foster, the committee joined hands with a similar committee appointed by the Senate. Public feeling accorded with the view expressed by the Prime Minister that the celebration should be grave and serious, and it was an appropriate coincidence that in 1917 the actual Dominion Day, the 1st of July, fell on a Sunday. In all the churches on that day the citizens of Canada mingled prayer and thanksgiving, and on the Monday the main recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee was carried into effect by unveiling a memorial tablet in the Entrance Hall of the new Parliament Buildings. The Governor-General, Foster, Borden, and Laurier all took part in the ceremony, and the words on the tablet dedicated the new building from the Parliament and People of Canada 'as a memorial of the deeds of their forefathers and of the valour of those Canadians who in the Great War fought for the liberties of Canada, of the Empire, and of Humanity'. A Royal message spoke of 'the strong, evergrowing, prosperous life of the Dominion' and joined in honouring 'the living and the dead, who by their deeds have added a glorious chapter to the Empire's history'. Throughout the war Canada greatly justified her Prime Minister's Jubilee appeal that 'it shall be recorded of Canada that, as at the first she never hesitated, so to the end she never faltered'. The end of the fifty years found Canadians at home rebuilding their ruined Parliament House, across the sea fighting for their own life as a nation and for the life of the whole British Commonwealth. It was an epitome of all the history of the race, a story of constant repairing of disaster, perpetual struggle for existence, manful facing of present trials, mindfulness of the legacy from the past, unshaken confidence in the future.

The new Parliament did not meet till the 18th of March 1918. In the meantime the Government had been hard at work. In February the Food Controller had been replaced by a Food Board. There had been conferences with the Provincial

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Premiers and the agricultural authorities of the Provinces, with intent to safeguard farming interests and to promote production. The War Committee of the Cabinet had communed with representatives of Labour and also of women. The Prime Minister, accompanied by representatives of Canadian banks, had paid a visit to Washington to discuss financial matters. The entry of the United States into the war had led to the establishment at Washington of a standing Canadian War Mission, to maintain close contact between the Dominion and the 'great neighbouring and kindred Commonwealth'; while a War Trade Board had been constituted at Ottawa. The Governor-General's speech was a long one and indicated a full ministerial programme. There were inevitable references to the war, not yet in sight of the end and now on the eve of its most critical stage, calling for the utmost effort and sacrifice. A confession was made that there had been 'greater delay than was anticipated in the operation of the Military Service Act', and complete registration of the manhood and womanhood of Canada above the age of 16 was announced to be essential. Mention was made of the new departments of Immigration and Colonization and of Demobilization or Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. The War Mission at Washington, the War Trade Board, the increase of shipbuilding, the Halifax disaster, Women's Suffrage, Temperance legislation, all were mentioned, and prominence was given to the patronage question, which Borden had pledged himself to take out of the slough of party politics. The Government proposed to extend the Civil Service Act to the outside service away from head-quarters at Ottawa, and to provide that in future all Government appointments should be made 'upon the sole standard of merit'.

Three days after the opening of the Session came the climax of the war. The great German offensive on the Western Front, with its initial successes, was a call to face the worst, and the one question of the moment, which dwarfed all others, was how many men could be put into the fighting line and how soon. The Military Service Act was not working well. There was rioting in the City of Quebec on the 28th of March, which led to the passing of an Order in Council on the 4th of April to strengthen the hands of the military authorities in the event of similar disturbances in future, and to a debate in the

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Commons on the following day. Borden then stated that 32,000 men had so far been recruited under the Act, under the circumstances which had arisen a wholly inadequate number. A fortnight after the riots debate the House met in Secret Session, to be told the full facts of the emergency, and, following upon the Secret Session, Borden, on the 19th, moved a drastic resolution, which was carried and embodied in an Order in Council on the next day and followed up by a Proclamation of the 4th of May. Freely denounced as an engine of oppression, the Military Service law, in point of fact, contained so many safeguards against oppression that it had been made to no small degree inoperative. An enormous number of claims for exemption had been put forward under its provisions; exemptions had been granted wholesale in the Province of Quebec; and everywhere the hearing of claims by successive tribunals had produced endless delays. French-Canadian malcontents, in particular, but farmers and others also, had taken full advantage of the openings given to them, and the result had been to defeat the intention of the Act and to thwart the will of the nation. The bad news from Europe strengthened the hands of the Government and they cut the knot. The resolution was in effect the draft of an Order in Council, which began by reciting the 'immediate and urgent need of reinforcements'. The Order in Council, as it was proposed, carried, and forthwith issued, abolished exemptions in the case of young men between the ages of 20 and 22; and it went still further in the direction of amending the law. Under the law the age of 20 was the downward limit for compulsory service; the age was now lowered to 19. In moving the resolution, Borden told the House that Australia, in proportion to population, had sent more men to the fighting front than Canada, and New Zealand many more. He gave full and carefully analysed statistics of the Canadian effort. Up to the 31st of March nearly 365,000 Canadians of all ranks had been sent overseas, including forestry, railway, and construction battalions; 252,000 of the total were infantry. Out of the 365,000, nearly 172,000, not far short of one-half, had been born in the United Kingdom: over 147,000 were Canadians of British descent: Canadians of French descent slightly exceeded 16,000. That was the contribution to the fighting line in the cause of democracy and freedom from well over

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two millions of French-Canadians, linked to France by blood and language, to Great Britain by political connexion for one and a half centuries. The Canadian casualties in the war up to the 31st of March had reached a total of 150,000, of whom nearly 26,000 had been killed in action and over 10,000 had died of wounds and sickness. More than one-half of the casualties, over 84,000, were credited to 1917. There was an unanswerable case for drastic action.

Yet it was a high-handed proceeding, after a single debate and resolution in the House of Commons, to amend or override an Act of Parliament by an Order in Council issued under the War Measures Act. The only justification was the urgency of the need for more fighting men at once. An Order in Council could be, and was, issued with the force of law immediately, whereas the passing through two Houses of an amending Bill, possibly opposed at every stage, would have involved most injurious delay. Not unnaturally what was done was challenged both in and out of Parliament. The farming interest took alarm and raised an agitation against a policy which would further diminish their scanty labour supply. There were complaints of breach of faith, production would be reduced, farms on which already only one able-bodied man was left would lose the one man—in cases of this last kind the Government made concessions. The legality of the procedure was tested in the law courts. It was held by the Court of the Province of Alberta that the Order in Council of the 20th of April was *ultra vires*, that an Order in Council could not supersede an Act of Parliament; a similar view was taken by the Superior Court at Montreal. But Borden and his colleagues were not to be frightened. A further Order in Council was issued on the 5th of July, providing that the Order of the 20th of April should have effect notwithstanding the adverse judicial decisions, and eventually, an appeal having been made to the Supreme Court of Canada, in July in that Court four judges out of six upheld the Government.

When Parliament met, there was one notable absentee from the Government benches. Overstrain had told badly upon White's health, his doctors had prescribed six months' complete rest, and he was recruiting at Los Angeles in California, doubtful whether or not to resign office. In the middle of April, however, the Prime Minister was able to report that he

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was on the road to recovery: a little later he began work again by visiting Washington to discuss financial questions; and before the Session ended, he reappeared in the House. In his absence, Mr. McLean, one of the new Liberal accessions to the Government, acted as Minister of Finance and brought in the Budget on the 30th of April. The result of White's skilful stewardship was year by year to show an ample balance on the right side on the current account of the year and to pay over substantial sums in aid of the war debt. The revenue for the past fiscal year, 1917–18, had amounted to $258 millions,[1] $26 millions more than the figures of the preceding year. The current expenditure of the year had come to $173 millions, excluding direct war expenditure, but including very large sums for interest on war debt and for war pensions, which items amounted to about $75 millions. A further $30 millions had been spent on objects of capital outlay, and there remained a balance of about $55 millions, to be applied in reduction of war expenditure—a most satisfactory balance sheet. It was satisfactory, too, that the approximate figures for the war expenditure of the year did not exceed $345 millions, whereas $500 millions had been allowed for in the War Appropriation Act of 1917. The total outlay on the war up to the 31st March 1918 had been $878 millions, $113 millions of which had been paid out of the surpluses of the last two fiscal years. At the same date the net public debt of Canada was round about $1,200 millions, as against $336 millions before the war. But of those 1,200 millions, 700 were owned by Canadian investors in Canadian war loans. The Dominion was, beyond question, abounding in wealth. There was evidence of it in the balance of trade. Before the war Canadian imports had exceeded Canadian exports. The exports of the year 1917–18 had exceeded the imports in value by nearly $625 millions. The conditions were abnormal, but much had come to stay, and Canada had made permanent strides as a manufacturing nation. McLean, probably inspired by White, was cautious and guarded as White himself, both in his statements and in his measures. He foreshadowed a decrease in Customs receipts in 1918–19. Temperance was, from the revenue point of view, an expensive luxury. By prohibiting the importation of beer and spirits the Government stood to lose some

[1] The revised figures, as given in the Year-Book, were higher, nearly $261 millions.

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$15 millions in Customs duties. The charge for interest on war debt and for pensions would necessarily be higher than in the previous year. Money would be wanted for soldiers' land settlement, and the Halifax disaster would add to the year's expenses. He budgeted for expenditure on current account of $230 millions, for direct war expenditure of $425 millions, and he proposed to raise a revenue of $270 millions, leaving a balance on current account of $40 millions. The heavy taxes were once more made heavier, but there was little criticism of the proposals, beyond a suggestion that the voluntary contributions to the Patriotic Fund were likely to fall off in consequence of the taxation, and that, if the Government took so much of the contributors' money, they ought another year to relieve them of the burden of the Fund. The House had been told in the previous Session that the Business War Profits Tax would not be dropped at the end of its three-year term, and it was now renewed, with slight amendment, in respect of the calendar year 1918. The Income War Tax was amended in the direction of greater stringency. The limit of exemptions was lowered, and to the main tax and supertax was now added a war surtax. Various increases were made or new taxes imposed under Customs and Excise. Tea, coffee, cigars and tobacco, matches, were listed in the amending revenue Acts, which included also many articles of luxury of the most diverse kinds, such as jewellery, playing-cards, automobiles, sleeping berths on railways, cinematograph films. Five financial Acts embodied the taxation of the year, and on the other side a War Appropriation Act gave the Government for war expenses $500 millions, the same amount as in 1917–18. Such was the last War Budget of Canada, in the strict sense, though, when it was framed and passed, few dared to hope that it would be the last. It was intended to cover another full year of war. Like its predecessors, it was wide and brave: it did not minimize in any degree cost or sacrifice. No shadowy prospects were ever presented to Canadian taxpayers during the war, but year by year ample provision was made to meet the worst. When the financial year had ended on 31st March 1919, it was found that the revenue had amounted to no less than close on $313 millions, $43 millions more than the estimate and $52 millions more than the receipts of the previous year.

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The Session of 1918 was a great contrast to that of the previous year. It was short, business-like, and in the main free from controversy. Political bitterness had for the time expended itself; the new Union Government was in overwhelming strength; and above all the extreme gravity of the crisis upon the fighting front placed patriotism above party. The programme set forth in the Governor-General's speech was carried through and a number of Bills of first-rate importance, over and above the financial laws, were passed with little criticism or opposition. One important measure did not come up for debate or appear at all upon the Statute Book. This was concerned with national registration. It had been embodied, before Parliament met, in an Order in Council of the 23rd of February, which provided for complete registration of all the men and women of Canada over the age of 16. A Canada Registration Board was constituted as a sub-committee of the War Committee of the Cabinet. Within three days of its appointment the Board went to work. Regulations were issued, which were explained in the House of Commons on the 22nd of April. One and the same day was fixed by Proclamation for registering throughout the Dominion with the exception of the Yukon Territory, and before the end of June the whole manhood and womanhood of Canada was duly registered. Not content with registration, the Government was so impressed with the necessity for utilizing 'to the best advantage the human energy of Canada for purposes essential to the prosecution of the present war', that by another Order in Council, issued on the 4th of April, regulations were framed to ensure that all males between the ages of 16 and 60 should be regularly engaged in some useful occupation. Civil Service reform was embodied in the course of the Session in a comprehensive new Civil Service Act. Two Acts confirmed two new Ministerial departments, the Department of Immigration and Colonization, dating from the 12th of October 1917, when the new Government was formed, and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, dating from the 23rd of February 1918. Under the latter department the Military Hospitals Commission continued its excellent work, but with the new title of Invalided Soldiers Commission. The salaries of the two Ministers in charge of these departments, of a Parliamentary Secretary for the Soldiers Civil Re-establishment

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Department, of the Minister of Overseas Military Forces, and of a Secretary of State for External Affairs were provided in a third Act. Prior to the 12th of October 1917 the Prime Minister had combined the duties of Secretary of State for External Affairs with those of his own office, the reconstitution of the Government was made an occasion for relieving him of this work by the appointment of a separate Secretary of State. By an Act to confer the Electoral franchise upon women, the women's suffrage question was finally settled, and in effect all adult white Canadians, women as well as men, are now voters of the Dominion. Another Act gave an opening for the enfranchisement of Indians in all parts of Canada, both men and women. An amending Dominion Lands Act contained provisions for the benefit of soldier settlers, suggested by the Soldier Settlement Board: another law applied to Canada the Imperial Naval Discipline (Dominion Naval Forces) Act of 1911. The growing prominence of labour questions, which, all the world over, was so marked in the later stages of the war, was reflected in two Acts, one amending an Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1917, the other, an Act 'to aid and encourage the organization and co-ordination of employment offices'. In the latter Act the federal Government supported and supplemented provincial effort, as had been the case in the matter of Prohibition.

The Prime Minister was not in the House on the last day of the Session, the 23rd of May. Before the prorogation took place, it was formally announced that he was about to leave for England to attend another Imperial War Conference, and that with him would go the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Immigration and Colonization, and the President of the Council, Messrs. Meighen, Calder, and Rowell respectively. There was no criticism beyond a good-humoured interjection by Laurier that 'our trust in our missionaries is not unlimited'.

For Laurier this was the last Parliamentary Session. When Parliament met again on the 20th of February 1919, the House forthwith adjourned as a tribute to its greatest figure, who had then just passed away. He had lived to see the end of the war, the triumph of freedom and democracy, the wonderful effort of Canada sustained to the last, and never more before the eyes of the world than in the closing scenes. He had

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never wavered, even when fighting conscription, in resolute conviction that Germany must be conquered, and that Canada must be in the front rank of the conquerors. He never identified the cause of Canada with that of the Empire so much as in the years of the war. His services and his character were admirably summed up by the then acting Prime Minister, Sir Thomas White. He was emphatically 'one of the outstanding statesmen of the age', and withal he was 'a great gentleman'. 'His private life was simple and blameless, and he leaves behind him a career unsullied by self-seeking or love of gain.'

Borden and his colleagues reached England on the 8th of June, and the sittings of the Imperial War Cabinet and the War Conference lasted from the 11th of June to the 26th of July. Australia, which had had no spokesman in 1917, was now represented by Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, and Sir Joseph Cook; and the only Prime Minister absent was General Botha, the Union of South Africa being represented by General Smuts and Mr. Henry Burton. The meeting of 1918 was perhaps less clearly marked than its predecessor of the previous year by new departures in the direction of Empire partnership, but still there was further advance along the road. The right of the Dominion Prime Ministers to communicate directly on questions of Cabinet importance with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and, during the war, to nominate Cabinet Ministers to represent them in the Imperial War Cabinet, was clearly affirmed; and reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions was specifically defined. After-war conditions were before the eyes and in the minds of the Empire delegates, and in the substantial work that was done the representatives of Canada took their full share. Loyal addresses to the King, one called forth by the occasion of their Majesties' silver wedding, testified, at a time of supreme crisis, at once to the importance of the Crown as a bond of Empire and to the personal attachment of the peoples of the Commonwealth to the King whom they all knew personally.

The beginning of the fifth year of the war found Borden still in England, but before the end of August he reached Canada again. The prairie provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, also sent their Premiers to England and to the fighting

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front in this memorable summer, and Canadian journalists visited the Old Country and the fighting men. Thus, to the great advantage of the Dominion, Canadians in Europe and Canadians in Canada were kept in close and constant touch with each other. Meanwhile, as though to make up for past delays, the war hurried to its close and, within less than two and a half months from his return, the imminence of the armistice called the Prime Minister again across the Atlantic. Accompanied by Sir George Foster and Mr. Sifton, the Minister of Customs, and leaving Sir Thomas White to lead the Government in his absence, he landed in England on the 16th of November. The Peace negotiations kept him away from Canada till the following June.

In Canada, and among Canadians, the concluding months of the war were marked by the curious admixture, which prevailed more or less throughout the world, of intensity of patriotism on the one hand, on the other, growing aggressiveness of class interests. Overstrain was telling, while effort was at its maximum. Canadian fighting was at its very best, the fighting spirit being further inflamed by the outrage of sinking the Canadian hospital ship, *Llandovery Castle*, on the 27th of June. Recruiting improved as the summer went on, and the Province of Quebec seemed to have taken a new and more wholesome outlook on the war. Canadian soldiers were sent out to Siberia, in the United Kingdom Canadian woodsmen were to be found at work in the Highlands of Scotland. The revenue mounted, the result of a great increase in the receipts from direct taxation, for Customs receipts showed a decrease, owing to restricted imports. A fifth War Loan, the second Victory Loan, which was launched early in October and closed on the 16th of November, five days after the Armistice, was a phenomenal success. It was issued on much the same terms as the 1917 loan, at par, at 5½ per cent. free of income-tax, with the option of investment by instalments. The Government asked for a minimum of $300 millions, but prescribed no maximum, and the total reached was over $682 millions, subscribed by more than a million investors in Canada. It was, in the words of a message of congratulation from the King, 'a splendid demonstration of the maturity of the financial strength to which the Dominion has attained'. This was the bright side of the picture. On the other hand, there were

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plentiful and ugly signs of labour unrest. The revolutionary gang of Industrial Workers of the World, cradled in the United States, distilled their poison into Western Canada, and all through the Dominion, in shipyards and on railways, among the municipal employees of the great cities, there was a constant succession of strikes or threats of strikes, the aftermath of war beginning before the war itself had come to an end. For the rest, the more the tide of war flowed in favour of the Allies, the more in Canada as elsewhere plans were developed for the coming peace, for repatriation of the soldiers, training of them for civil life prior to demobilization, settlement of them on the land after return, the Dominion Government, the provincial governments, and great companies, such as the Canadian Pacific Railway, all co-operating in schemes for land settlement. Extension of trade, economic penetration with friendly intent into friendly lands, engaged attention. A trade board at Ottawa, a Canadian Trade Commission in London, an economic mission to Siberia, were among the activities projected or carried out.

Taking in round numbers the figures given in the Canadian Year-Book, the revenue for the year ended the 31st March 1919, the last of the fighting years, was a little under $313 millions, as compared with a revenue of $163 millions in the year ended the 31st of March 1914, the financial year immediately preceding the war. It is not, and never will be, possible to state with any accuracy what was the cost of the war, even in a strictly financial sense, either to Canada or to any other country which took part in it. The cost of pensions will run on for many long years, the interest on war debt still longer. Though the war was over, the year 1919–20 was rightly treated in Canada as still a war year, loaded with all the heavy expenditure of demobilization, and one more Victory Loan was launched in the autumn of 1919, realizing not far short of the great 1918 loan, $611 millions. The three Victory Loans were, as Sir Thomas White phrased it, the greatest chievement of Canada during the war. They raised, an aggregate of more than $1,700 millions—'almost mount of all the deposits in all the chartered banks var'.[1] When he brought in the 1919–20 Budget, dget, on the 5th of June 1919, he gave as the total

[1] *The Story of Canada's War Finance, ut supra*, p. 59.

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of principal war expenditure up to the 31st of March 1919, in round numbers, $1,327 millions. The National Debt on the same date he placed at $1,584 millions[1] as against $336 millions on the 31st of March 1914, and he estimated that, allowing for an outlay of some $300 millions on demobilization and for other expenses arising out of the war, the debt would stand on the 31st of March 1920 at round about $1,950 millions. When his successor brought in the 1920–1 Budget on the 18th of May 1920, he gave the net debt on the 31st of March 1920 as, in round numbers, $1,936 millions, and the total expenditure on the war up to the same date, apart from pensions, interest on war debt, and soldiers' civil re-establishment—formidable omissions—as $1,674 millions. In any case the war had multiplied the Public Debt of Canada not far short of sixfold. But all this and much more, had it been necessary, Canada could easily carry on her young broad shoulders. Sir Henry Drayton, White's successor, emphasized the extent to which the war had turned the balance of trade in favour of the Dominion. He pointed out to the House that in the five fiscal years ending the 31st of March 1915 the value of imports into Canada had exceeded that of exports by over $825 millions, whereas in the next five years, ending the 31st of March 1920, the value of exports had exceeded that of imports by over $1,803 millions. The record of mutual borrowing and lending, of interchange of credits as between Great Britain and Canada, told, as we have already seen, a similar story. On the 31st of March 1919 the account showed $445 millions lent by Canada to Great Britain as against $214 millions lent by Great Britain to Canada, a balance of $231 millions in favour of Canada.[2] What had taken place was very well summed up by Sir Thomas White after the war was over. 'Britain lent us the money in London to pay all our military expenses overseas. We repaid Britain by moneys

[1] The final figures, according to the Year-Book, were a little under $1,575 millions.

[2] A Treasury Minute of 14th November 1918, which was laid before Parliament (*Canadian Government* (*Advances*), Cd. 9234, 1919), made the account on 31st March 1918 as follows:

Cash advance by the Imperial to the Canadian Government equivalent to	$405,338,273 9 cents
Cash advance by the Canadian to the Imperial Government equivalent to	$506,145,731 29 cents

making at that date a balance in favour of Canada of rather over $100 millions.

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placed to her credit in Canada. She used these credits to purchase munitions, wheat, flour, and other Canadian products. The sale of these products enabled Canadians to subscribe the War Loans. In a word, we paid the cost of our military operations by our production during the war'; and he had good ground for the statement that 'of all the nations engaged in the war from the beginning, Canada, I truly believe, emerged in the best economic condition'. He bore strong testimony to the assistance given to both British and Canadian Governments through the whole war period by the Canadian Pacific Railway 'to the limit of its great financial power', and both Governments owed much to the strength, stability, and hearty co-operation of the Canadian banks.[1]

The advances which Canada made to Great Britain were mainly on account of munitions. The record of the Imperial Munitions Board was one of constant expansion. In the last six months of the critical year, 1917, 15 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Ministry of Munitions in England was incurred in Canada. But the activities of the Board were not confined to output of shells, fuses, and the like. It became a kind of general agent for the British Government in Canada, in the matter of timber for instance. It built ships for the Canadian Government. It was a great producer of aeroplanes and of locomotives. It catered for the American Government after the United States entered into the war. In December 1918, when the war was over and the time for demobilizing had come, Rowell, the Ontario leader, stated that between 600 and 700 plants had been engaged by the Board and 250,000 to 300,000 workers employed, and that $1,100 millions had been spent in Canada by the British Government. The Board, and its able head, Sir Joseph Flavelle, were not and could not hope to be immune from criticism, but, whatever charges might be levelled against them, they stand out as having rendered, in Mr. Lloyd George's words, 'signal service to the British Empire and to the Allied cause'.

We have seen that, though operating in a self-governing Dominion, the Board was directly under the control of the British Government. There was another agency in Canada, similarly situated, which did markedly good service during the war. This was the branch of the Royal Mint at Ottawa,

[1] *The Story of Canada's War Finance, ut supra,* pp. 17, 49, 69.

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the very competent Deputy Master of which was Dr. James Bonar. It was established by a Canadian Act of 1901, which provided for the cost, and it opened in 1908. Though paid for from Dominion funds, it was from the first, and still is, a 'Canadian branch of the Royal Mint', a department of the Imperial Government, directly under the Imperial Treasury, not under the Canadian Ministry of Finance. But it worked in closest touch with that Ministry, very especially in the war years, and, unlike other branches of the Royal Mint, it was not concerned solely or to any appreciable extent with coining gold sovereigns, little used in Canada, but coined the token money, the dollar currency of Canada. Very interesting, as illustrating Imperial co-operation generally and also as showing how the geographical position of Canada made it in a sense a liaison country during the war, was the record both of the relations of the Ministry of Finance with the Imperial Treasury and the Bank of England and of that Ministry with the Mint at Ottawa. It was the theme of a statement made by Sir Thomas White in the House on the 29th of May 1917. The beginning of the war found the balance of trade as between Great Britain and the United States heavily in favour of Great Britain, and American traders were hampered in sending gold across the Atlantic to pay their debts by the dangers of ocean navigation and, in consequence, the prohibitive rate of insurance. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1914, the Bank of England arranged that delivery of American gold in Canada to the account of the Bank should be taken as delivery in London, and over $100 millions, equivalent to about £20 millions sterling, in coin and bullion, were transferred over the border and lodged in the vaults of the Ministry of Finance at Ottawa. Within a year the position was reversed. Great Britain had become, and was becoming in an increasing degree, a debtor to the United States for money borrowed, for munitions and stores of every kind, and was in addition beginning to be debtor to, rather than creditor of, Canada. Under the new conditions Canada, itself a gold-producing country, became more than ever a clearing house for the mother country and the Empire. To Halifax on the Atlantic side, to Vancouver on the Pacific, warships brought raw gold from all available quarters, from South Africa, from Asia, from the Belgian Congo, from Borneo, from Brazil. It was carried on to Ottawa and thence, in due course, to the

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United States. White stated that his Department had already handled on behalf of the Imperial Government and the Bank of England over $1,000 millions in gold coin and bullion, and in the end the amount exceeded $1,200 millions.

The work of the Imperial Munitions Board brought in its train a demand for an increased amount of silver and bronze coin, and this demand the Ottawa Mint had to meet. But it was already being called upon for another and greater effort. In 1911 a small refinery had been opened in connexion with the Mint to deal with gold produced in Canada, and by April 1915 an extension of the refinery was in working order, built for the purpose of refining by chlorine gas—a process introduced from Australia. In September 1915 there came a request from the Bank of England to refine raw gold from South Africa. The raw product poured into Canada. In May 1916 a great enlargement of the refinery was planned, it was carried out in seven weeks, and White spoke of it as having the largest capacity of any refinery for raw gold in the world. Here the Mint, with greatly increased staff, produced pure gold bars, which were sent on to New York to meet the debts of the British Government. The last consignment of rough gold to be refined was received in the early part of June 1918, and in all the refinery turned out fine gold to the amount of nearly £73 millions sterling. The silver in the rough gold was about 10 per cent. of the raw product, and was bought by the Mint to be coined. This was the main service rendered by the Ottawa Mint during the war, but in other ways also it did good work. Its skilled mechanics turned out dial sights and eye-pieces for great guns, it tested platinum and other raw metals, it coined silver and bronze for Newfoundland, copper nickel coins for Jamaica, coming to the aid of these colonies in the difficult time of war, and the armistice found it helping out the parent mint in the coinage of shillings.[1]

Among the manifold war funds of Canada the first place must be assigned to the Canadian Patriotic Fund. It was essentially the national war relief fund, both raised and expended within the Dominion and Newfoundland. We have seen the origin and objects of the fund, that it was incorporated by a Dominion

[1] On the work of the Mint at Ottawa see 'The Mint and the Precious Metals in Canada', a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society in February 1921 by J. Bonar, LL.D.

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Act in the first month of the war 'for the assistance, in case of need, of the wives, children, and dependent relatives of officers and men, residents of Canada, who, during the present war, may be on active service with the Naval and Military forces of the British Empire and Great Britain's Allies'. The amending Act of April 1915 provided that the benefits of the fund should be extended to dependants in Newfoundland of Newfoundlanders serving in the Canadian forces, and also to officers and men, residents of Canada, who were incapacitated on or from active service at the front, and to widows of officers and men who had died on or from active service and had been residents of Canada. Moreover, the term during which assistance might be given was prolonged to six months after the war. From the first the fund was administered on the principle that the beneficiaries must be resident in Canada or Newfoundland, as the case might be, though they might be wives or dependants of foreign reservists called up from Canada to their respective armies on the Allied side. The wording of the Act, however, was held to be somewhat ambiguous and, in order to place the residential qualification for the benefits of the fund beyond all doubt, a further amending Act was passed in May 1918. While the Bill was under discussion in the House, the view was expressed that the Government should take over the fund, inasmuch as it supplemented the payments made from Government funds to Canadian sailors and soldiers and their dependants, and that a special tax should be levied in lieu of voluntary subscriptions. But the change was never made, the subscriptions proved more than adequate, and the fund remained on a voluntary basis to the end. In July 1919 yet another Act was passed which provided for the eventual winding up of the fund, but in the meantime the clause which limited its operation to six months after the war was repealed and continuance of help was authorized to the soldiers' dependants subsequent to the soldiers' discharges. The balance of the fund was in fact used to help out demobilization, and its excellent machinery was employed by the Dominion Government for the distribution of Government relief as well. The Duke of Connaught, first President of the fund, was succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire on becoming Governor-General. The Honorary Secretary in the war years was Sir Herbert Ames, M.P., to whose organizing capacity all bore witness. When the

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Bill of 1919 was before the House of Commons at Ottawa, Sir Herbert Ames, on the 19th of June, stated that the receipts up to date had been $47,250,000, fully £9 millions, of which about $40 millions had been expended, and that the cost of administration had been covered by the interest on deposits, so that every dollar given to the fund had been, or would be, available for relief. Manitoba had in the main given its money to a special Provincial Patriotic Fund, but all the other provinces had concentrated on the main fund, Ontario contributing about half of the total. Provinces had given, and cities, notably Montreal and Toronto, banks and companies, men and women, rich and poor. In 1921 the total of the main fund was not far short of $49 millions, and of the Manitoba Fund nearly $4 millions. It was a very splendid national effort, to be recorded for all time.

This was the great home fund of Canada; the money was almost entirely spent where it was collected, within the Dominion itself. Next in order, in every sense, comes an organization whose funds were raised in Canada, but whose benefits mainly accrued beyond the seas. This was the Canadian Red Cross Society. The Canadian Red Cross was born into the world in October 1896. Its founder and first President was Dr. George Sterling Ryerson. Its birthplace was Toronto and from first to last Toronto was its headquarters. It did good service in the South African War. It was legally incorporated by a private Act of the Dominion Parliament in May 1909. That Act was amended and enlarged in the course of the great war, in 1916, and after the war was over, in July 1919, a further law endowed the Society with continued active life, empowering it 'in time of peace or war to carry on and assist in work for the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world'. The Society was a distinct unit from the British Red Cross, but, by the terms of incorporation, was affiliated to it, and in the war zone it operated as a branch of the British Red Cross. Both by its constitution and in its actual work it was 'a voluntary auxiliary organization to the Canadian Army Medical Corps'. It was therefore in the closest touch with the Ministry of Militia and Defence; Red Cross hospitals, equipped and partially built by the Society, were staffed and maintained by the Department of Militia,

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and with that Department lay the selection of doctors, nurses, and orderlies. With the Society was associated the St. John Ambulance Association and the St. John Ambulance Brigade, and, as the war went on, a close alliance was formed with the Canadian War Contingent Association. When the war came, we are told that the Society was little more than a skeleton organization, with $7,000 remaining over from the funds raised at the time of the South African War. The war called it back at once into vigorous life, and it went on from strength to strength, consolidating and expanding its beneficent work.

The Duchess of Connaught was President of the Society, her successor being the Duchess of Devonshire. The Chairman of the Executive Committee and subsequently of the Central Council also was Lieut.-Col. Noel G. L. Marshall; the indefatigable Honorary Secretary at Toronto was Mrs. H. P. Plumptre. Multiplying and co-ordinating branches, raising and forwarding money, providing, packing, and dispatching supplies, among them great quantities of Canadian fruit and jam, perpetually finding additional premises for additional work, perpetually enlisting additional workers, experts among them, such as the men who diagnosed the value of Canadian moss as a substitute for cotton in surgical dressings, publishing a monthly bulletin of work which grew in volume day by day, the Society in Canada had its hands over-full. In the later stages of the war there was definite Red Cross work to be done in Canada, in visiting and providing comforts for sick and wounded Canadians sent back to the hospitals in the Dominion; and, after the armistice had been signed, the Society was entrusted with the task of placing nurses on the trains by which wives and children of repatriated Canadian soldiers travelled, many of the women being new-comers to Canada.

On the European side of the Atlantic the work of the Society began tentatively and on a very small scale, then grew rapidly to great dimensions. The first beginning was in November 1914, and from the first the Overseas Organization was placed under a Chief Commissioner with two assistant commissioners in France and England respectively. Towards the end of 1916 a Canadian Red Cross Committee was constituted in London to advise and co-operate with the Chief Commissioner. The first Chief Commissioner, Lieut.-Col. Burland, died comparatively soon. His successor until April 1918

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was Colonel C. A. Hodgetts, C.M.G., and then came Colonel H. W. Blaylock, C.B.E., who from January 1915, when work in France began, had been Assistant Commissioner in France, in charge both of the base and of the forward area. Up to the spring of 1915 the Society only ministered to one Canadian hospital. As hospitals multiplied its work increased, and in January 1919 the Chief Commissioner reported that, either by the erection and equipping of special hospital buildings, or by the addition of wards to existing buildings, or by renting and equipping existing buildings, the Canadian Red Cross had provided the Canadian Army Medical Service with hospital accommodation to the extent of 3,685 beds. In addition to rest homes for nurses and for officers, recreation huts and supply dépôts, such as the Shorncliffe dépôt, the following were in a special sense Canadian Red Cross hospitals, having been provided and equipped by the Society :

1. The Duchess of Connaught's Canadian Red Cross Society Hospital at Taplow.
2. The Canadian Red Cross Special Hospital at Buxton.
3. The King's Canadian Red Cross Convalescent Hospital at Bushey Park.
4. Princess Patricia's Canadian Red Cross Society's Hospital at Ramsgate, subsequently moved to Cooden Beach.
5. The Canadian Red Cross Officers' Hospital at the Hotel Petrograd in London.

A sixth hospital was opened in France in July 1918 at Joinville Le Pont, Vincennes, and, having been equipped and staffed, was given by the Society to the French Government.

There were various branches of the Society's work in England : an Information Bureau, a Parcels Department, a Prisoners of War Department, and others. The Information Bureau was initiated by Lady Drummond immediately after the first Canadian contingent crossed to France, and with her name it will always be associated. Canadian soldiers were the first charge upon the Society, but it ministered also abundantly to home British and Allied fighting men. Great quantities of supplies were sent to French hospitals, in addition to ambulances and motors, and subscriptions were sent to French war charities. In a lesser degree the other Allies also received help, and the money grants alone to the Allies, including France, amounted to nearly £105,000, while the gifts in kind and in service were immeasurably greater. Some

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95,000 cases of supplies were distributed among the Allies as against 170,000 to Canadian hospitals in England and France. It is impossible to give an accurate estimate of the money value of receipts and outlay, so much was given to the Society in kind and in so many varieties of kind, and so diversified was the Society's own output. We have an official statement to the effect that, up to the end of 1918, the overseas organization received from Canada in cash £1,077,000, and either received from Canada, or bought in England, supplies to the amount of £2,520,000, while the ambulances and cars given or bought represented over £98,000. This was over and above £1,332,000 subscribed in Canada on 'Our Days', mainly through the channel of the Canadian Red Cross Society, to the funds not of the Canadian but of the British Red Cross. All in all, according to this calculation, Canada contributed to Red Cross work in the war (up to the end of 1918) well over £5 millions. But the contributions must have been given more in kind than in cash, for a computation of the cash subscribed in Canada to the Canadian (omitting the British) Red Cross gave $8,372,000, including over $600,000 from the United States, a sum normally much short of £2 millions. To this cash total Ontario gave well over $3 millions, and among the other provinces Saskatchewan led by far with $1¾ millions, being equally pre-eminent in number of branches and of life members of the Society. At the end of 1920 the estimate of £5 millions given above had been raised to £6 millions.

From the very beginning of the war, when volunteers for the first Canadian contingent gathered to Valcartier Camp, the military branch of the Canadian Y.M.C.A. was in evidence, and its organization accompanied Canadian soldiers, wherever they served, in the fighting line and at the bases. Y.M.C.A. officers were with the contingents all through, in England and in France, but in France it was not until May 1917 that, by arrangement with the British War Office, a full establishment of the military branch of the Canadian Y.M.C.A. with the Canadian corps was formally authorized and became a recognized unit of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada. The officers and other ranks of the establishment were paid by the Dominion Government, otherwise the expenditure was met partly by the sales at the canteens and partly by subscriptions from Canada. These last reached a total of some $4½ millions, clear proof that the Y.M.C.A. was appreciated by the Canadian

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people. Londoners, no less than Canadians, will recall the Beaver Hut in the Strand, where, in the very heart of London, the Y.M.C.A. kept open house for Canadian soldiers on leave or on their way to the front; and to the Y.M.C.A., not least to the Canadian Y.M.C.A., must be credited the initiative in the education movement in the armies of the Empire, which was such a prominent feature of the last year of the war and which alone would differentiate the war from all wars of past times. The universities of Canada had been drained of their students, and those who did not give their lives on the field of battle or in hospital were losing, in the service of their country, the years which would have been given to preparation in class and lecture room for professional and citizen life. Moreover, fighting and marching take but a part of a soldier's time, and the long-drawn-out war provided much enforced leisure, to be turned to good or bad account. These considerations led to an invitation to Dr. H. M. Tory, President of the University of Alberta, to come over and report on the matter. He came in the summer of 1917, and eventually a plan was evolved which commended itself alike to the universities of Canada, the military authorities, and the Dominion Government. The Government then, in September 1918, authorized as a branch of the General Staff of the Overseas Forces of Canada an establishment under the name of the Khaki University of Canada, embracing and co-ordinating all the educational efforts and agencies among the Canadian forces. At the head of it was Dr. Tory in the capacity of Director of Educational Services, Overseas Forces of Canada. What had been done prior to this date had been to organize study circles in the Canadian camp areas in England, to open battalion schools for more elementary teaching, more especially in France, where the battalion schools moved with the moving units, to multiply reading rooms and libraries, to provide special text-books, and, where study circles and schools were hardly practicable, as in the case of Forestry detachments, to teach by correspondence, commercial subjects and agriculture receiving much attention. The armistice followed closely upon the heels of the full-fledged scheme and, though it had been framed to cover the demobilization period as well as the war, demobilization also was carried through faster than had been anticipated, and the Khaki University can hardly be said to have been given a full trial. Still substantial work was done. A number of advanced

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students were concentrated at Ripon in Yorkshire to follow up their work, some 300 were distributed among the universities of the United Kingdom to obtain certificates which would help them to degrees in the Canadian universities after their return to Canada, and in all, in the last six months of 1918, nearly 35,000 students were registered over and above a very much larger number who did no more than attend extension lectures.

Closely allied alike with the Canadian Red Cross Society and with the Canadian Y.M.C.A. was the Canadian War Contingent Association. It originated, as has been seen, in England almost immediately after the war began, and it was domiciled in England, though, as the war went on, it developed branches in Canada, especially at Toronto and the port of shipment, Halifax, and from Canada it derived its main support, generous and unstinted to a degree. It came to birth at a meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel, so intimately associated with Canadian history, and until the end of 1916 the hotel provided accommodation for its work. Sir George Perley presided over the opening meeting and was throughout President of the Association. Sir Thomas Skinner was Chairman of the Executive Committee, and the energetic Honorary Secretary of that Committee, to whom the Association owed much, was Mr. J. G. Colmer, C.M.G. Sir George McLaren Brown was Chairman of the Hospital Committee, while Lady Perley was President, and Lady McLaren Brown Honorary Secretary of the Ladies Committee. The Association had two main objects, on the one hand, to promote the welfare of the members of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces—and, by the time that the first contingent reached England, the Association was ready for them—on the other, to maintain a hospital not confined to Canadians. This hospital, the Queen's Canadian Military Hospital, was opened in October 1914, the month in which the first contingent from Canada landed, at Beechborough Park, Shorncliffe, the house and grounds being lent for the purpose by the late Sir Arthur Markham. For a while Lady Markham acted as Lady Superintendent, and the late Sir William Osler was the distinguished Physician-in-Chief. About 3,000 patients passed through its wards during the war. The special interest of the hospital is that it reflected the views of those who held that the Unity of the Empire should find expression in hospitals provided for and tenanted by sick and wounded soldiers from

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all parts of the Empire, in preference to segregating Canadians in hospitals provided for Canadians alone. Week by week and month by month, for this as for kindred objects, an unceasing stream of gifts in money and in kind flowed in from the Dominion, funds for maintaining the hospital at a consistently high level, comforts of every description for the fighting men. The money subscribed to the Association up to the end of 1918 has been given at about £80,000, the gifts in kind must have represented at least five times as much, and the final receipts of the Association probably exceeded in value £500,000.

Women's work was conspicuously in evidence in what the Canadian War Contingent Association undertook and carried through, and to two Toronto ladies, Miss Plummer and Miss Arnoldi, was due the formation of the Canadian Field Comforts Commission. They joined the first contingent at Valcartier and followed it over. In March 1915 they planted the Commission at Ashford in Kent, but shortly afterwards moved to Shorncliffe, a great centre for Canadian soldiers, and there the Commission had its head-quarters during the rest of the war. The women of the Empire, in all parts of the Empire, were, taken as a whole, so conspicuous for service during the war, so brave and enduring in spirit, so efficient in practical work, that it is difficult to say anything of the women of one part which might not be said of all. Still more difficult is it to single out names. But perhaps Canada had a speciality in the strength of one particular women's organization, of which the Dominion was the birthplace, the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, Mrs. Gooderham being its President in the years of the war. The value of the contributions of the Order to war work and charities has been estimated at about £1 million, and one good cause after another benefited from its funds. In the first months of the war over a quarter of a million dollars were raised for a hospital ship, the money being eventually applied partly to the purchase of motor ambulance cars, partly to the building of a Canadian women's block at the Naval Hospital at Haslar. In London in 1916 the Daughters of the Empire opened a hospital for officers, which bore their name, and in 1918 a club for Canadian nursing sisters. Canadian nurses earned all the rest and care that could be provided for them. Some did not survive to be cared for. When the Germans bombed the hospitals at Étaples and

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Doullens and sank the *Llandovery Castle*, they took infamous toll of the brave women of Canada.

Among funds for the needs of the Allies, the Belgian Relief Fund was most strongly supported. The contributions to it in cash and supplies exceeded $3 millions, including a grant of $50,000 from the Dominion Government and smaller sums from some of the Provincial Governments. The Dominion and Provincial Governments are credited with having made gifts to the Government of the United Kingdom to the amount of nearly $5½ millions. This would include the stream of gifts which flowed from Canada at the very beginning of the war to relieve distress in the mother country. All in all, including governments, cities, companies, societies, individual men and women, the voluntary contributions of Canada for war purposes have been set down at over $104 millions, say—at the normal rate of exchange—between £20 and £21 millions, and we all know that, besides recorded contributions, much goes out and comes in through numberless unrecorded channels. But if we assess the war-time generosity of the Canadians at £20 millions only, the sum works out at much more than £2 per head of the total population of the Dominion, and it should stand on record that for their men in the field and in the hospital, and not for them alone, Canadians poured out their substance through many channels with splendid profusion.

The war effort of the different provinces of the Dominion was somewhat uneven, especially in the matter of fighting men. The Premier of Ontario claimed that half the enlistments in Canada came from that province, and, as a matter of fact, out of 466,000 who enlisted under the voluntary system, Ontario provided 200,000, not far short of one-half. Manitoba, with only a quarter of the population of Quebec, sent more voluntary soldiers, a higher proportion to the total population than any other province, including Ontario. British Columbia did notably well, so did Alberta, but the record of the Maritime Provinces was not so good. In money contributions Ontario seems to have contributed nearly as much as all the other provinces combined, and, in giving, the Ontario Government set a worthy example to private citizens. Comparison of provinces, if it is to be a fair comparison, no doubt needs to be checked by study of local conditions, but the prominence of Ontario was, beyond question, a marked feature in the War Record of Canada.

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SECTION II

THE CANADIAN FORCES IN THE WAR

BY

PROFESSOR F. H. UNDERHILL, M.A.
University of Saskatchewan

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CHAPTER I. 1914–15

SECTION 1. THE 1ST DIVISION

In 1914, as has already been told, Canada had intended to celebrate the completion of a century of peace with her only neighbour. On Christmas Eve of that year it would be one hundred years since the treaty of Ghent, which brought to a close the war of 1812, had been signed. In the interval the two North American nations had traced their common frontier across a continent, had settled the fate of territories larger than most of the countries of Europe, and had remained at peace. Naturally they were disposed to look back with pride on an achievement wherein the New World might be destined to set an example to the Old.

Into such an atmosphere fell the thunderbolt of August 4th. When Christmas Eve came, 30,000 Canadian soldiers had already crossed the Atlantic. They were Canada's first contribution to a war which was finally to involve as many Canadian fighting men as comprised the whole population of the country one hundred years before.

It was inevitable, perhaps, in a land where everything savouring of old-world 'militarism' was—and still is—suspect, that interest in military matters should be confined to very few. There was, it is true, a Canadian Permanent Force, which included one infantry battalion, the Royal Canadian Regiment, two cavalry regiments, the Royal Canadian Dragoons and Lord Strathcona's Horse, and the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery, all of them units which were to distinguish themselves in the war. For the production of officers there existed the Royal Military College at Kingston, which in 1914 had 125 cadets in attendance. But the total strength of the Permanent Force on March 31st, 1914, was only 3,000 and there was no system of reserves; while the counter-attractions of high wages in civil employment made it difficult to maintain even these numbers.

Outside the Permanent Force was the Active Militia with a strength of about 75,000 and with a more ambitious organi-

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zation. The country was divided into Divisions or Districts, each with a permanent staff acting under the Militia Council at Ottawa; and, under the inspiration of official visits by Sir John French and Sir Ian Hamilton, a scheme of mobilization had been worked out for the eventuality of war. The Militia formations included 35 regiments of cavalry, 39 batteries of field artillery, and 111 battalions of infantry. Some of these units, such as the Queen's Own Rifles of Toronto or the Royal Highlanders of Montreal or the Little Black Devils of Winnipeg, had memories of active service which stretched back to the North-West Rebellion of 1885 or even to the Fenian raids of the 60's. The Militia as a whole, however, was not taken seriously by the country at large and hardly even by itself. It went through field-training for 12 or 16 days each summer which was attended by about three-quarters of its strength; but, though men signed on for three years, the personnel of many units changed so thoroughly with each summer camp that training seldom reached beyond the most elementary stages. Officers and N.C.O.'s were many of them totally unqualified. In 1913 the Inspector-General noted the distressing fact that 25 per cent. of the officers were absent from training and half of this number without leave. Equipment, staff, training-grounds were all inadequate.

Against such conditions a few men, prominent among whom was Colonel Sam Hughes, had for years been raising their voices in the wilderness, crying out for a larger and better-equipped Militia force. When Colonel Hughes became Minister of Militia and Defence in the Borden Cabinet of 1911, he proceeded to carry some of his ideas into effect, and the expenditure of his Department increased from $7,000,000 in 1911 to $11,000,000 in 1914. For this increase he was roundly denounced by the Opposition in Parliament, full of an Opposition's passion for economy; while more impartial observers outside Parliament were inclined to see in the drill-halls, which he was fond of erecting in little Ontario towns, only another of those varied expedients by which Canadian Governments are accustomed to woo the constituencies and keep themselves in office.

The war, therefore, found the country almost totally unprepared for a military effort. Indeed, even the scheme of mobilization which the Militia Council had prepared for such

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a crisis was scrapped by the Minister when the crisis came. He proceeded to meet the situation by measures of his own, improvised at the moment, but carried out with the characteristic 'hustle' which later caused an enthusiastic journalist to compare him with Carnot, the organizer of victory. Rumour had it that he dreamed of being the Napoleon of the Canadian army as well.

Certainly he was energetic. Within two days of the declaration of war, orders were issued for the enlistment and mobilization of a division. On August 8th Mr. Hamilton Gault's offer to raise a battalion of ex-service men, the battalion which later became famous as Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, was accepted. A great camp at Valcartier was surveyed and constructed in a few weeks. It contained a rifle range with 3½ miles of butts, 'the largest in the world'. By August 20th drafts of enlisted men from every part of Canada were on their way to Valcartier, and within a week the camp held 20,000 men. On September 3rd the Field State showed 1,247 officers and 30,167 other ranks. During the course of the month some order was produced out of the chaos which this method of enlistment and concentration inevitably produced. Gradually and with many changes the various detachments were organized into companies, battalions, batteries, and brigades according to the localities from which they came, and were given the numerical designations which the next four years were to make familiar. At the same time training was carried out vigorously. It was quick work and the Minister of Militia deserves great credit for the speed with which the first Canadian contingent was made ready. But many experiments were yet to be necessary before a satisfactory organization for the raising and reinforcement of a Canadian army was finally evolved.

During the last week of September embarkation began at Quebec. By October 1st the last ship of a flotilla of 32 vessels was loaded and the first contingent, over 30,000 strong, sailed for England. The contingent included 17 infantry battalions in addition to Princess Patricia's battalion, 3 Field Artillery Brigades and a Divisional Ammunition Column, the Royal Canadian Dragoons, Lord Strathcona's Horse and the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery, the necessary Engineer and Supply units, 3 Field Ambulances, 2 Stationary Hospitals, 2 General

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Hospitals, 1 Casualty Clearing Station, and various details. The Royal Canadian Regiment had already been sent to Bermuda to relieve a British battalion at that station.

Hardly had the first contingent sailed when it was announced that a second contingent would be raised. As cold weather was approaching and Valcartier was only a summer camp, it was decided to carry on training at various centres suitable for winter quarters. Thus the second contingent, which was soon organized into the 2nd Division, was not concentrated in one spot until all its units had reached England. By the end of January 1915, not only were all the units to make up this complete 2nd Division in being, but 22 infantry battalions and 13 regiments of mounted rifles were in process of enlistment at different points.

The first contingent reached Plymouth on October 14th and proceeded to Salisbury Plain, where quarters had been allotted to it by the Imperial authorities. Here command was taken by Lieut.-Gen. E. A. H. Alderson, C.B., a British soldier of distinction who had seen active service in Egypt and South Africa ; and under General Alderson's leadership the Canadian forces remained until they had grown into a corps of three divisions. Here also Canadians had their first experience of the mud which was to be so familiar for the next four years. Rain and mud interfered seriously with training and the abominable winter conditions on Salisbury Plain in 1914–15 were long remembered even by men who had seen Flanders. But in spite of many hardships progress was made and in the early part of the new year the Canadian Division was ready for France. Already in November the first Canadian unit had crossed the Channel—No. 2 Stationary Hospital ; and in December the first unit for the front line had gone—the P.P.C.L.I., who left on the 20th as part of the Twenty-Seventh Division. Finally, on February 7th, after weary weeks of waiting, the 1st Canadian Division, fully formed and equipped as a fighting unit, began its slow movement to the battle area.

The first contingent had been organized into its subordinate formations before leaving Canada. But it was far above strength for one division, and the final selection of those units who were to form the 1st Division was only made on Salisbury Plain. These with their Commanding Officers were as follows :

The 1st Infantry Brigade was composed of Ontario troops

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SIR RICHARD TURNER

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and commanded by Brig.-Gen. M. S. Mercer of Toronto, who as Major-Gen. commanding the 3rd Division was killed on 2nd June 1916, in the fight of Sanctuary Wood. His brigade consisted of the 1st Battalion (Western Ontario), commanded by Lieut.-Col. F. W. Hill, later commander of the 9th Brigade ; the 2nd Battalion (Eastern Ontario), commanded by Lieut.-Col. David Watson (in 1918 Major-Gen. Sir David Watson, G.O.C., of the 4th Division) ; the 3rd Battalion, raised chiefly from the well-known Toronto Militia Regiments, the Queen's Own Rifles and the Royal Grenadiers, and commanded by Lieut.-Col. R. Rennie (in 1918 Brigadier of the 4th Brigade) ; and the 4th Battalion from Central Ontario, commanded by Lieut.-Col. A. P. Birchall, who was killed leading his men in their counter-attack along the Pilckem road at Ypres in April, 1915. Lieut.-Col. Birchall and Lieut.-Col. Lipsett, who is mentioned below, were Regular officers who had been attached as instructors to the Canadian forces.

The 2nd Infantry Brigade was composed of Westerners and commanded by Brig.-Gen. A. W. Currie, to be better known in 1917 and 1918 as Sir Arthur Currie of the Canadian Corps. His brigade consisted of the 5th Battalion, composed of Western mounted men turned into infantry and commanded by Lieut.-Col. G. S. Tuxford (in 1918 commander of the 3rd Brigade) ; the 7th Battalion from British Columbia, commanded by Lieut.-Col. W. F. Hart McHarg who, like Birchall of the 4th, was killed at Ypres in 1915 ; the 8th Battalion raised chiefly from the 90th Winnipeg Rifles, the Little Black Devils, and commanded by Lieut.-Col. L. J. Lipsett, who rose to command the 3rd Canadian Division and subsequently, in 1918, the Fourth (British) Division, in charge of which he lost his life ; and the 10th Battalion from Winnipeg and Calgary, commanded by Lieut.-Col. R. L. Boyle, the third of the Canadian battalion commanders to fall in the battles of Ypres 1915.

The 3rd Infantry Brigade was composed chiefly of Eastern Canadians and three of its four battalions were Highland units. It was commanded by Brig.-Gen. R. E. W. Turner, V.C., D.S.O., later the first commander of the 2nd Division and subsequently Chief of the General Staff in charge of all Canadian forces in England. His brigade consisted of : the 13th Battalion, recruited chiefly from the 5th Royal Highlanders of Montreal and commanded by Lieut.-Col. F. O. W. Loomis (in 1918

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Major-Gen. in command of the 3rd Division); the 14th Battalion, also of Montreal and bearing the title Royal Montreal Regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Col. F. S. Meighen (the 14th included a company of French Canadians); the 15th Battalion, raised mainly from the 48th Highlanders of Toronto and commanded by Lieut.-Col. J. A. Currie; and the 16th Battalion (Canadian Scottish), raised from Highland Militia regiments in Victoria, Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Hamilton, and commanded by Lieut.-Col. R. G. E. Leckie.

The Divisional Artillery consisted of three Field Artillery Brigades and one battery of 60-pounders, to which was added the 118th (British) Field Howitzer Battery. It was commanded by Brig.-Gen. H. E. Burstall (in 1918 Major-Gen. Sir Henry Burstall commanding the 2nd Division), and his three Brigade Commanders were Lieut.-Cols. E. W. B. Morrison (in 1918 G.O.C. Artillery, Canadian Corps), J. J. Creelman, and J. H. Mitchell (later G.O.C. Artillery, 3rd Division).

The Divisional Engineers were commanded by Lieut.-Col. J. A. Armstrong (later Chief Engineer, Canadian Corps). The A.D.M.S. in charge of the Medical Services was Col. G. La F. Foster (in 1918 Director General of Canadian Medical Services).

The mounted units, Lord Strathcona's Horse and the Royal Canadian Dragoons, with the addition of the 2nd King Edward's Horse, were organized into a Canadian Cavalry Brigade under Brig.-Gen. Right Hon. J. E. B. Seely, the late Secretary for War in the British Cabinet. For the present, along with the Fort Garry Horse who were formed into a Reserve unit, they were left behind in England, and they did not join the Division in France till May 1915.

The infantry battalions and the various other details left behind on Salisbury Plain were organized into a Training Division to supply reinforcements to the Division at the front. They were shortly moved to better quarters at Shorncliffe, which became the chief Canadian camp in England, and remained so until Canada's Overseas Forces had become so numerous that they were spread over half a dozen great camps in the Southern counties.

The 1st Division embarked at Avonmouth and sailed to St. Nazaire at the mouth of the Loire. Thence after a long journey across France it reached its billeting area to the east of Hazebrouck on February 15th. The infantry brigades were,

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one by one, taken into the line for instruction by the veterans of the Fourth and Sixth (British) Divisions. On February 20th the Division was inspected by the Commander-in-Chief Sir John French, and on February 27th Operation Order No. 1 was issued. Already on February 22nd the first casualties of three killed and ten wounded had been reported, suffered by the 1st Brigade during its tour of instruction.

Operation Order No. 1 dealt with the relief of the Seventh Division by the Canadians, which took place on March 3rd. The line taken over was a section of the First Army area south of Armentières and just north of the area of the then pending battle of Neuve Chapelle. Here the division remained till March 25th, and it had its first experience of what modern fighting involves when the British divisions to the South attacked on March 10th. In the Neuve Chapelle affair the Canadian infantry were not called on to take part, though the gunners assisted with a bombardment on their front. On the whole the three weeks' tour was uneventful and the division came out of the line having suffered few casualties. Its next tour was to be much more memorable. Early in April it moved north into the Second Army area and on April 17th took over from the French a sector of the already famous Ypres Salient.

SECTION 2. YPRES 1915

The Battles of Ypres 1915 will always stand out among the many engagements of the war because this was the occasion on which a new horror, poison-gas, was introduced. To Canada its story has a special appeal, in that Canadian troops were the first of all the soldiers of the Empire to endure the agonies of a gas attack and proved their quality by holding fast against it. The 1st Canadian Division, under leaders most of whom were amateurs in the art of war and composed of men practically all of whom were amateurs, showed itself by its heroic three days' resistance in the critical part of the line worthy to stand by the veterans who had made history in the same neighbourhood six months earlier. 'The Canadians saved the situation' and the performance of the 'Originals' on those days set a standard for all their successors. By the end of the war, when the Canadian Corps had trained itself into a great military machine, no higher praise could be given of its fighting qualities

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than that it had lived up to the standard set by its 1st Division at St. Julien.

But, while the battle round St. Julien is a glory to the name of Canada, it is only fair to remember that the Canadians, even on their own part of the front, did not fight alone. Indeed, during the days from April 22nd to May 4th General Alderson had under his command a larger body of British infantry than he had of Canadians. Altogether, before he handed over his front on May 4th, he had directed the operations of two cavalry brigades and of 47 infantry battalions. These units were hurried up from different parts of the British area and were thrown in, as soon as they arrived, where the need was greatest. Inevitably, in the stress of the conflict, the mixture of units was confusing, and the story of the battle is difficult to follow. The mixture was made still greater by the fact that the battle in its essence was the defence of a suddenly uncovered flank, which ran parallel to all the lines of communication and which, stretching for some four miles from the left of the Canadian line back to the canal, was almost twice as long as the original front itself.

The position which the Canadians took over in the middle of April was on the extreme left of the British line. The French had been holding most of the Salient through the winter, and it only came under British control again when, in order to release French troops for service elsewhere, the 5th British Corps relieved them during the early part of the month, the Canadian Division taking over from the 11th French Division on the 17th. The French themselves still held the northern face of the Salient, which extended from Steenstraate on the Ypres Canal to a point east of Langemarck on the Ypres–Poelcappelle road, the 45th Division, composed largely of African troops, being in the line at the time. Here the Canadians joined up with them, and their line extended in a south-easterly direction (see map) till it crossed the Roulers road in front of Grafenstafel, the right divisional boundary being a short distance south of the road. The remainder of the line in front of Ypres was covered by the Twenty-eighth Division, immediately to the right of the Canadians, holding the section in front of Zonnebeke, and by the Twenty-seventh Division holding the south-eastern face of the Salient as far as the neighbourhood of Hill 60. On the left of the Twenty-seventh

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divisional line was Princess Patricia's battalion, belonging to the 80th Brigade of this Division, who on May 8th were to go through as severe a mauling as their fellow Canadians farther north encountered in the desperate April days. The Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, and Canadian Divisions made up the 5th Corps under Sir Herbert Plumer.

The Salient had been quiet for some time, as recent fighting had all been farther south. But on April 17th, the day on which the Canadians took over from the French, the British had started what developed into a bitter struggle at Hill 60. On April 20th, when the Germans began to shell Ypres, their action was interpreted as the sign of intended retaliation for Hill 60 at some other point in the Salient. Warnings as to gas were also being circulated from the British higher commands, but do not seem to have reached the troops in the line.

The Canadian front extended for about 4,000 yards. On the Thursday afternoon, when the battle opened, it was divided between the 2nd Brigade on the right and the 3rd Brigade on the left, the 1st Brigade being in Corps Reserve about Vlamertinghe to the west of Ypres. Each of the front brigades had two battalions in the line, so that the whole front was held in four approximately equal sections by four battalions. On the right of his front General Currie of the 2nd Brigade had the 5th Battalion across the Roulers road and to the north of it, and on its left the 8th Winnipeg Battalion. Local supports, available for immediate reinforcement or counter-attacks, were provided by these battalions a few hundred yards back on the ridge behind the front trenches. Of the remaining two battalions of the 2nd Brigade, the 7th was in brigade reserve farther back down the Roulers road in billets about Fortuin; while the 10th was in divisional reserve still farther back in the northern outskirts of Ypres. Brigade Head-quarters were at Wieltje.

General Turner's 3rd Brigade on the left had the 15th Battalion (48th Highlanders of Toronto) on its right in touch with the 8th Battalion of the 2nd Brigade, and the 13th on its left extending to the Poelcappelle road and in touch with a battalion of Zouaves to the north. Local supports of these battalions were also well forward; and in addition, as St. Julien was an important nerve centre of the whole defence system with communications spreading fanwise in all directions,

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a small garrison of one company each from the 13th, 14th and 15th Battalions under command of Lieut.-Col. Loomis of the 13th was stationed here. Farther back along the main road, in billets about Wieltje, was the brigade reserve, consisting of three companies of the 14th. The 16th was in divisional reserve alongside the 10th in Ypres. General Turner's head-quarters were in a farm-house about half a mile north of Wieltje, a position which received so much attention from the German gunners during the battle that it gained the name of Shell Trap Farm.

The 2nd Field Artillery Brigade had its four batteries along the Haanebeek south of the Roulers road, while the batteries of the 3rd were scattered about St. Julien in positions well forward—much too far forward for safety as it turned out when the front suddenly shifted from north-east to north-west and some of the gunners found themselves firing into masses of German infantry to the west of them. Of all the exciting adventures during that night of adventures, the 22nd/23rd, none were more exciting than those of the 3rd Field Artillery Brigade, until its batteries were finally withdrawn. Besides its 18-pounders the Division had now also the 118th Howitzer Brigade of the R.F.A.

Both the 1st Infantry and 1st Artillery Brigades were in Corps Reserve back at Vlamertinghe. Divisional head-quarters were also west of the canal at Brielen.

The Ypres Salient had the disadvantages of all salients, together with some others which were to become painfully familiar. Already the Germans had the advantage of position, an advantage which was to be increased as the result of the battle ; and the Canadians on going into their new front found themselves and their communications to the rear under enemy observation. They found also that their positions both front and rear were exposed to enfilade fire from the north, and that the condition of the soil made deep or strong trenches impossible. The defences which the French handed over were most unsatisfactory. 'These trenches were the most remarkable that we had seen up to this time and nothing of the kind has been seen since. The parapet, if such it might be called, varied in thickness from none at all to two feet ; . . . The wire in front was useless, very little of any kind and a lot of that simply smooth trip wire.' So wrote one adjutant in his battalion

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diary, but, in justice to the French, it must be remembered that their system of defences was different from our own. Having far more guns and ammunition, they trusted to the guns rather than to trenches and held their line quite lightly. The support positions at points of tactical importance immediately behind the front line were equally rudimentary. As soon as they took over the line, the Canadians set to work at digging and wiring, but their improvements were not yet complete when the storm broke.

Farther back along the lines of communications towards head-quarters, difficulties were apt to develop, as the roads converged and the divisional areas narrowed toward Ypres. The fact that the head-quarters of the French, Canadian, and Twenty-eighth Divisions were all west of the Canal also militated against quick communication with and effective control of the fighting front. In these circumstances great responsibilities devolved upon the brigade and battalion commanders farther forward, and Canadian officers here first displayed those qualities of initiative and enterprise which were to mark the Corps throughout the war.

The importance of the Canadian position was that it covered the Grafenstafel ridge, one of the tongues of comparatively high ground in that flat country which ran out in a north-westerly direction from the main Passchendaele ridge. In the battle which ensued one main task of the two front brigades was to keep the enemy from seizing this higher ground. The other main task, which fell chiefly on the 3rd Brigade, was to defend the St. Julien area and prevent the ridge from being outflanked from the south and west. In the defence of St. Julien another tactical feature of importance soon showed itself. This was a wood about half a mile to the west of the village, which in the hands of the enemy became an excellent defensive position and a dangerous jumping-off point for further attacks. The whole weakness of the Canadian position became obvious in a few hours when the Germans, pouring in from the north in the wake of their gas, threatened to cut the front-line battalions off altogether, and, as the width of the French gap became evident, to outflank the entire Ypres Salient.

The scheme of defence laid down was 'to hold the front trenches at all costs, and, in the event of any trench being lost,

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to counter-attack at once'. In case of retirement being necessary, there was a prepared line known as the G.H.Q. 2nd Line which, where it crossed the Canadian sector, ran roughly in the shape of the arc of a circle of 1,000 yards radius with its centre at Wieltje. This line was wired but not completely dug. When, on the 24th and 25th, St. Julien was lost and the Canadians were driven off the Grafenstafel Ridge it became the nucleus of the defence.

The German gas attack which began the battle came at 5 o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, April 22nd. About this time the men of the 3rd Brigade noticed that the very severe bombardment which their French neighbours were undergoing was being varied by an unusual feature—a greenish cloud of vapour which drifted on the north-east wind over the French trenches. They themselves did not get much of the shelling or of the gas, but enough of the latter reached them to make them realize its purpose. On the French it had an immediate and disastrous effect, and soon their disorganized troops were falling back into the Canadian area. The left front-line company of the 13th tried to rally some of those who came its way and was quickly engaged in a brisk fight with the Germans who were pressing on their heels. Farther back, in an hour or so, large bodies of the Africans were retiring through St. Julien and all the country westward, and in the early evening the men of the 1st Brigade far back at Vlamertinghe were surprised to find them crowding the streets of the village. The whole French line simply melted away and by 8.45 in the evening, according to General Alderson's report, there appeared to be no formed body of French troops east of the canal. Thus in a few hours by their new weapon the Germans had burst a gap of some four miles in the Allied front.

The extent of the gap was of course not obvious at first to the front-line Canadian units. But the sight of the retreating French and the sound of rifle fire behind them made it clear that the whole left flank of the 3rd Brigade was threatened. One of the first things which happened was that telephone communication between St. Julien and the front line was cut off. The 13th, left to their own devices, tried at first to extend their line across the Poelcappelle road, but were shortly compelled by lack of numbers to withdraw and throw out a new flank down the road itself. It was a thin line and some of the

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Germans with machine guns crossed the road to the east behind the front Canadian trench, so that at one time the 13th were being attacked from three sides at once. But they held on.

Meanwhile the St. Julien garrison was thrown out in front of the village, while General Turner put in his brigade reserve, the 14th Battalion, and even his Field Company of Engineers, to cover the G.H.Q. line in front of Brigade head-quarters. All these troops were soon engaged, and by dusk the Germans were in possession of the wood to the west of St. Julien and were pressing against the St. Julien–Poelcappelle road. Along the road there was still a dangerous gap between St. Julien and the front-line battalions. Had the enemy pressed on now they might easily have broken through or surrounded the very thinly defended Canadian flank. But as darkness approached they began to dig in and for the moment the situation was saved.

During the night reinforcements began to arrive at General Turner's urgent call. General Currie sent three companies of his brigade reserve, the 7th Battalion, and they were put in to fill up the gap north of St. Julien in the neighbourhood of Keerselare. The remaining company of the 7th occupied a position known as Locality C on the ridge behind the junction of the 2nd and 3rd Brigades. Part of the reserves of the Twenty-eighth Division were sent up under Colonel Geddes, and a company of the 2nd Buffs from this detachment was guided up to the point of the salient, arriving there just before dawn and bringing welcome help to the hard-pressed companies of the 13th. Meanwhile General Alderson had ordered up his divisional reserve from Ypres, the 10th and 16th Battalions, to help the 3rd Brigade, while the Corps Commander placed the whole of the 1st Brigade at his disposal. He sent the 2nd and 3rd Battalions also up to General Turner; the 1st and 4th were kept back near the canal to meet contingencies, as the position of the French was very uncertain and the enemy were reported west of the canal at Boesinghe. In case the worst should happen, the canal bridges were prepared for demolition by the engineers.

By midnight General Turner had sufficient troops at his disposal to attempt a counter-attack. The danger-point was the wood, later known as Kitchener's Wood, and the line from

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it to St. Julien, hardly as yet covered by any of our troops. Out of this area it was determined to try and clear the Germans. The attack was entrusted to the 10th and 16th Battalions, the 10th under Colonel Boyle in front, and the 16th in close support. Forming up near the road on a two-company frontage, they began their advance. It was a moonlight night and surprise was impossible. When they were about 300 yards away, the Germans discovered them and opened a heavy fire with rifles and machine guns. But they kept on and carried the trench at the face of the wood with a rush. Here Colonel Boyle was killed and the two battalions became mixed up with one another. They pushed on, however, through the wood in the darkness and reached a line well to the north of it where the officers who were left reorganized them and set them to digging in. By this time their losses had been severe. The 10th Battalion was able to muster only 5 officers and 188 other ranks out of more than 800 of all ranks who went into the action; the 16th had 5 officers and 263 other ranks. It was decided therefore to withdraw to the south of the wood, where their flanks would not be so much in the air, and this was accomplished before daybreak. In the wood they were forced to leave a battery of four English heavy guns which they had found there, evidently lost when the ground was overrun by the Germans in their first rush. To the south of the wood they dug in along the captured German trench, and General Turner sent the 2nd Battalion with two companies of the 3rd to prolong their line to the east towards St. Julien.

Colonel Geddes of the 2nd Buffs, who has been mentioned as having been sent up on this night of the 22nd/23rd, had a force of rather more than a brigade in strength. General Alderson placed him on the left of the Canadians in the still open part of his front to the west of the St. Julien wood. To the west of Geddes again the 1st and 4th Battalions were ordered to push north along the Pilckem road, and to try to connect up with Geddes somewhere on their right and with the French somewhere on their left. Thus, by the morning of the 23rd, some sort of a line, though with many breaks, had been established all along the Canadian left flank.

At 5.45 a.m. on the 23rd a second Canadian counter-attack was made. This time it was the 4th and the 1st Battalions who advanced, along the east side of the Pilckem road. The French

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were to co-operate on their left, but no French could be found and they advanced by themselves. It was a desperate undertaking. The Germans were entrenched at the top of a long smooth slope leading up to Pilckem, with a clear field of fire in front of them. For artillery support the attackers, advancing in daylight, had to depend on one battery of the 1st C.F.A., the remaining batteries not being in action yet. They pushed on bravely, the 4th in front and the 1st in support, but could not reach the German line. Finally, about ten in the morning, they had to content themselves with digging in where they were, and here they remained through the early afternoon under steady fire. About noon touch was at last obtained with the French.

By the time that the French had come fully into position the 13th British Brigade had also arrived. It is proof of the gravity of the situation that the brigade was sent up not yet rested and recruited from heavy fighting at Hill 60. Its battalions were put in immediately to the west of the Pilckem road. In the afternoon a further attack was decided on, and after several delays it began at 5 o'clock. The French, the 13th Brigade, and the 4th and 1st Battalions advanced together; but again the heavy fire from the German trenches was too much for them. They managed to carry the first enemy trench, but could advance no farther, and once more had to dig in. Colonel Birchall of the 4th, waving his walking-stick coolly in front of his men, was killed and his battalion lost all its officers but four. By evening it was about 250 strong. The 1st Battalion was reduced to 10 officers and 300 other ranks. When night fell they were both relieved after their arduous day's work, and units of the 13th Brigade took their place. It is difficult to understand why on the morning of the 23rd the Germans failed to push home the advantage which they had gained between St. Julien and the canal, but Canadian resistance round and north of St. Julien was undoubtedly an important factor, and the counter-attacks made by the Canadians and their British comrades, if they failed to drive the enemy back, were potent in preventing a further advance. They saved the line at a most critical point, the apex of the enemy penetration. Here, just to the east of the canal, the enemy had driven a wedge into our positions two miles deep; a little farther and they would have been across the vital lines of communication.

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These two counter-attacks on the left of the long Canadian line apparently diverted German attention for most of the day from the fronts of the 3rd and 2nd Brigades. Late in the afternoon, however, the 15th Battalion in the original front line had to beat off two infantry assaults preceded by shells and gas.

By nightfall, therefore, on the 23rd the Canadians still held the whole of their position. On the original front the 5th and 8th Battalions of the 2nd Brigade and the 15th and 13th of the 3rd Brigade were still in their old trenches. From the left of these trenches the line swung back sharply along the Poelcappelle road, with some of the 13th, the company of the Buffs and three companies of the 7th holding it till they were joined by the St. Julien garrison of the 14th and 15th. From St. Julien it stretched to the west with half of the 3rd, the 2nd, and what were left of the 16th and 10th carrying it to the south-west corner of the wood. Thence it was continued by Geddes's Force and the 13th Brigade to the west of the Pilckem road, where the French took it up and held it as far as the canal.

During this night for the first time withdrawal was found necessary. Behind the extreme point of the salient on the Poelcappelle road, the German machine-gunners, who had established themselves there on the first night, were making the left front of the 13th impossible. Accordingly it was decided to flatten out the apex of the position and a successful withdrawal was made to a new line running from the left of the 15th's trenches to the western end of the Grafenstafel ridge. This new line was on the forward slope of the ridge and was soon in turn to prove decidedly uncomfortable.

On Saturday the 24th the German attack burst with full fury on the original front line. At 5.30 a fierce bombardment followed by gas fell all along it, but with special severity on the trenches of the 15th (48th Highlanders) and on the left half of those of the 8th. Colonel Lipsett's men stood firm but the Highlanders were driven to abandon their positions. The men of the 13th, the Buffs and the 7th on the left of the 15th were compelled to retire with them. 'A succession of new positions was taken up,' says General Turner, 'and each in succession was made untenable by the terrific shell fire of the enemy's artillery. He was using his field-gun fire direct and the men were literally blown out of position after position. The casualties were heavy. It was on this morning that virtually all those except

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in the 10th and 16th Battalions occurred.' The work of the German guns was made more deadly by their aeroplane observation, which was practically unmolested. Indeed, during the whole of the battle the Germans seem to have had a decided mastery of the air. Under such circumstances the withdrawal was a costly business. Detached bodies of all the units were surrounded and either killed or made prisoners. After the battle the 15th, who lost most heavily in this way, reported over 600 men missing.

As the apex of the salient was still further drawn in, the German attack also developed against St. Julien, and the troops in this neighbourhood were subjected to the same ordeal as those farther north. So pressing was the danger here that the 10th and 16th Battalions were withdrawn from their line south of the wood to relieve the situation to the east of them. At length continued attacks compelled General Turner to order the withdrawal of the whole 3rd Brigade front to a line south of St. Julien. The fighting all along the front was of the bitterest kind. Control became impossible and it was a case of each isolated detachment fighting by itself. 'We held on trusting that the counter-attack would yet relieve us, but it never came. Our only machine gun had been put out of action, and our ammunition now became exhausted. The men fought with their bayonets and finally were overpowered, and made prisoners. Only 43 of all ranks were able to walk out of that trench and nearly every one of those 43 was wounded.' So runs the report of one company-commander of the 3rd Battalion written after he had returned from Germany. In the village of St. Julien itself it was found, after the rest of the line had retired, that there were still Canadians and men of the Buffs holding out, who seem to have continued the fight through the night. By evening all that were left of the 3rd Brigade were well back toward the G.H.Q. line.

From the moment that the 15th retired early on Saturday morning a gap was made between the 2nd and 3rd Brigades which became ever wider as the 3rd Brigade was slowly driven back south of St. Julien. General Currie of the 2nd Brigade found his left in the air, exactly as the left of the 3rd Brigade had found itself on the afternoon of the 22nd when the French line broke. All day long he devoted strenuous efforts to getting up reinforcements to fill in that dangerous opening. The men

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of the 8th themselves drove out the Germans who began to work towards them along the abandoned Highland trenches. Farther to the left, the company of the 7th in Locality C. held on after the 15th had retired through them and maintained their ground till hardly a man remained. Colonel Tuxford of the 5th sent every man he could spare to be thrown into the exposed flank. He was left with only two companies to hold his front of 1,100 yards. General Currie sought reinforcements from behind. A counter-attack by units of the York and Durham Brigade (of the Northumbrian Territorial Division) was promised him, but they were eventually deflected to fill in the G.H.Q. line behind the retiring 3rd Brigade. So serious did the situation become that about noon he gave Colonel Lipsett permission to retire, should his position become unendurable. But the men of the 8th stuck it out. At last in the middle of the afternoon two battalions from the Twenty-eighth Division arrived. By this time the Germans were in possession of the western end of the ridge, and the new-comers had to take up a position to the left rear of the 8th Battalion. During the night General Currie himself collected what he could find of the 7th and 10th Battalions, who by this time had got back to the G.H.Q. line with the 3rd Brigade, and sent them up to join on to Colonel Lipsett's left. With them a precarious flank was established but the men were almost exhausted by 60 hours' continuous fighting.

Meanwhile General Alderson had been collecting troops farther back to try to restore the situation. On Saturday afternoon, the 24th, the 10th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. B. C. Hull) arrived from the Fourth (British) Division, and was sent up to prepare for a counter-attack on St. Julien in the night along with the Northumbrian Territorial troops. The 1st and 4th Battalions of the 1st Brigade were also ordered up to fill in the gap between the 2nd and 3rd Brigades ; but they were unable to reach their destination, being delayed by General Hull's troops who were deploying for their attack.

The attack of the 10th Brigade and the supporting forces, all of whom had been put under General Hull, did not begin till 5.30 on Sunday morning, that is after daylight. It was made under difficulties of every kind. There was no time for previous reconnaissance and General Hull had to give his orders from the map. The men could not get through the wire in front of

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the G.H.Q. line in time to be in position before daybreak. The artillery preparation was inadequate because St. Julien had to be spared owing to the reported presence of remnants of the troops there. Under the circumstances the attacking force did well to push as far as the southern outskirts of the village and to within 50 yards of the wood. But there they were held up ; and by 7.30 in the morning, with casualties already amounting to nearly 50 per cent., they were compelled to withdraw almost to their starting-point. The attack was a failure but it checked any further enemy advance for the time.

Meanwhile the much-enduring 2nd Brigade was still holding on. Some of the 8th had been relieved by a battalion of the Durhams during the night, but the right company of the 8th was still in the line. On Sunday afternoon the German attacks again became pressing. The Durhams were overpowered and the right company of the 8th, which held on to the last, was wiped out. General Currie could get no reinforcements and finally in the afternoon he ordered a withdrawal. The men came back, but, finding that the Twenty-eighth Division on their right was not conforming, they advanced again and held on to part of the ridge till far into the night. Here in the early hours of Monday morning, after continuous fighting since Thursday afternoon, they were relieved along the Roulers road by units of the Twenty-eighth Division and retired into support behind Fortuin.

By Monday morning, the 26th, all the Canadian infantry units had been relieved from the front line. General Currie's 2nd Brigade was in support near Fortuin and his front had been taken over by the Twenty-eighth Division. General Turner's 3rd Brigade had been relieved on Sunday night and retired to bivouacs south of St. Jean. The 1st Brigade had already been ordered back to the canal bank, where it took charge of the bridges ; and here on Monday the 1st and 4th Battalions were rejoined by their comrades of the 2nd and 3rd, from whom they had been separated since the night of the 22nd, when the 2nd and 3rd went up to help General Turner's hard-pressed troops.

Trouble was by no means over yet and the battle continued till the fourth week in May. Nor did General Alderson hand over the command of his front until May 4th. But his Canadian troops were not used again for fighting in the front line. That line was now held (Monday, April 26th) from the Canal east-

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ward by the French ; thence, as far as Fortuin, by the troops under General Alderson, the 13th Brigade, Geddes's Force, and the 10th Brigade; and from that point by the Twenty-eighth Division.

The remainder of the week saw a daily series of counter-attacks by the French and British, all of them unsuccessful. The Lahore Division had come up and was used for most of these attacks on Alderson's part of the front, but without recovering the Pilckem ridge. On May 2nd the Germans attacked in their turn, again using gas, and for a short time had broken a hole in the line. In all these British efforts the Canadian artillery continued to lend its aid. When the Germans threatened again on May 2nd the Canadian infantry also stood to, but they were not needed as the line was restored by immediate local counter-attacks. They remained, however, in their support positions under harassing fire and with little rest for the next week. Finally, at 10 a.m. on May 4th General Alderson handed over his front to the G.O.C. Fourth (British) Division, and the Canadian Division, after as trying an initiation into battle as any troops ever received, retired to the Bailleul area for a well-earned rest.

This was the first fight of the Canadians. Its story has been told with perhaps greater detail than is justified by the numbers engaged as compared with bigger engagements later in the war. But, even so, no adequate picture can be given of what these amateur soldiers endured and achieved during those few days. The best proof of their quality is the list of casualties. The infantry alone lost almost 5,500 killed, wounded, or missing. Every battalion suffered heavily and many of them lost over 50 per cent. of their strength. Many of these casualties too were caused by a new and unexpected weapon against which the men were provided with no protection whatever. Yet they stood firm and the line did not break. It was a magnificent prelude to further efforts, on a greater scale and crowned with success, by the Canadian Corps in the days that were yet to come.

SECTION 3. THE BATTLE OF FESTUBERT

The Division was in the line again before the third week of May was out. In a new sector, a short distance north of the La Bassée Canal, it took its part in the later stages of the battle of Festubert (May 15–25), which formed the second of the

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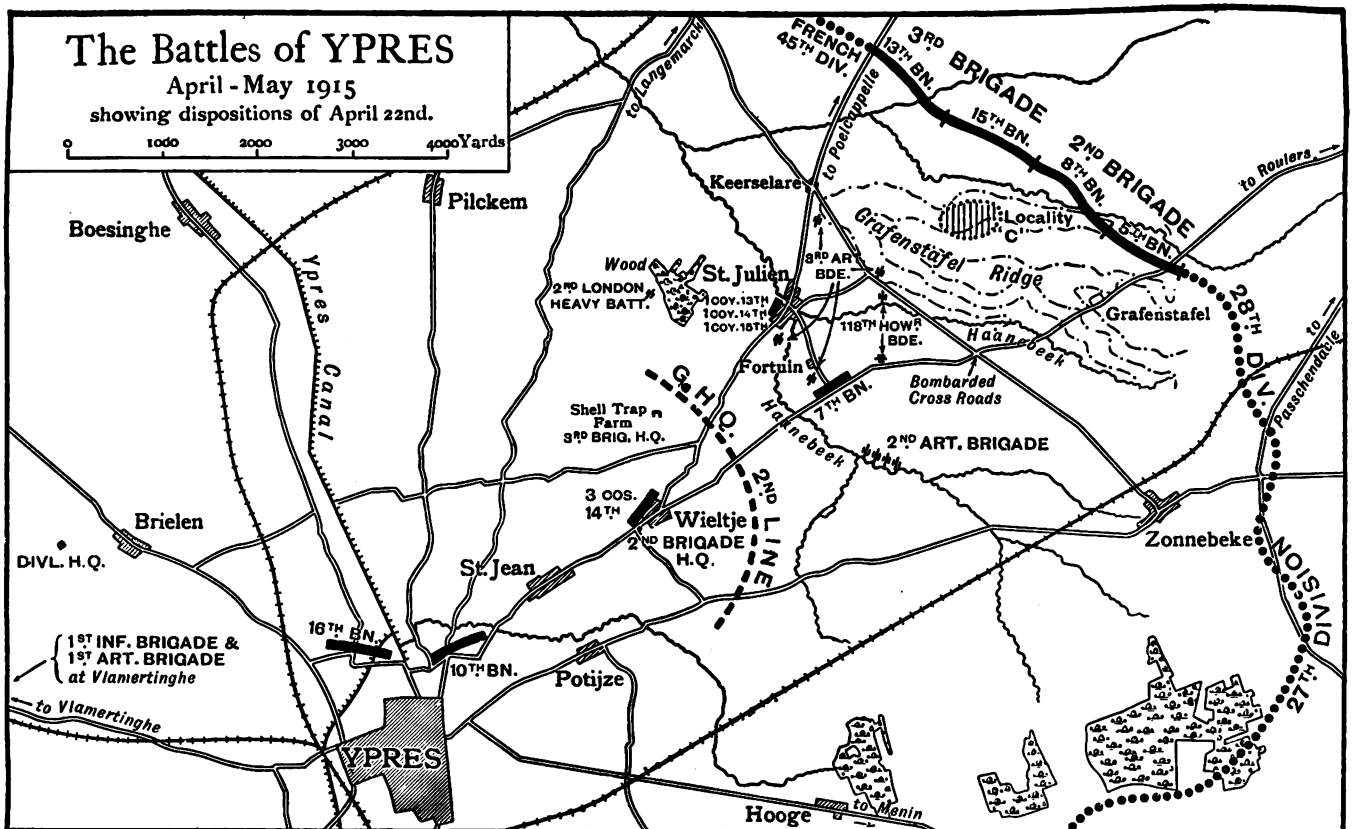

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British attempts to create a diversion in favour of the great French attack in Artois. The British attack here, begun on May 9th and renewed on the 16th, had for its ultimate objective the Aubers Ridge, for the sake of which the battle of Neuve Chapelle, a little farther north, had been fought earlier in the year. The main operation in May, however, was the simul taneous French attack in Artois against the Lorette and Vimy Ridges. There, over ground which was to become almost the property of the Canadian Corps in 1917, the best French divisions poured out their blood to loosen the German hold on their vital mining and industrial districts of the north-east; but to the Canadians of 1915 struggling forward across the flats east of Festubert, Carency, La Targette, and Neuville St. Vaast were only names and signified nothing.

The German line opposite Festubert formed a rounded salient. The Seventh Division had thrust well into it, but our artillery support was entirely inadequate and the nature of the ground, combined with the enemy defence-system, made progress very difficult. Everywhere the country was almost dead flat and it was cut up by innumerable ditches and streams which at this season were full of water. The Germans had studded their trench lines with little machine-gun redoubts sited in houses or, if the houses were not at hand, built up out of concrete into structures which were the forerunners of the pill-boxes. Across the level fields these were hard to make out, and harder still to attack, for their machine guns swept all approaches. Our Intelligence had numbered and lettered the more important positions and they appear on the map as M 10, K 5, &c.

The first Canadian troops to come into the battle were those of the 3rd Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Turner). On May 18th the Brigade was placed at the disposal of the Seventh Division and took its place in the line with the 4th Guards Brigade of the Second (British) Division on the left and the 21st Brigade of the Seventh Division on the right. Its task was to improve and extend the gains already made—a difficult task, for there could now be no element of surprise, and the Germans had been given time to bring up reinforcements. An attack was set for that afternoon with the object of pushing forward our line to La Quinque Rue. In this the 16th (Canadian Scottish) and 14th (Royal Montreal) Battalions took part, two companies

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of each advancing from the old German front trenches which then formed our front line (see map). One company of the 16th was to devote itself to a flank attack on the Orchard (M 9–N 13) beyond the road, if the general attack succeeded. But the main operation met with only partial success. The Guards on the left were unable to make their objective and the 14th next to them went too far to the right, trespassing on the frontage of the 16th. Eventually, after considerable confusion, the two battalions managed to establish themselves on a line from the neighbourhood of M 5 beyond Quinque Rue to the farm-house about 500 yards north-east and thence to P 11, where they were in touch with the Guards. The attack on the Orchard had to be abandoned until a better reconnaissance could be made.

On the next day, May 19th, the Canadian Division took over the line from the Seventh, and the Fifty-first (Highland) Division relieved the Second, both Divisions being placed under the command of General Alderson. The right of the Canadian front was taken over by the 2nd Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Currie) with the 10th and 8th Battalions in the line. The position here ran from near K 4 along the old German front trench to M 3 on La Quinque Rue and thence along the south-eastern side of the road to beyond M 5, where the 8th were in touch with the new line won on the previous day by the 16th. No attacks were made on this day; but on the 20th the two Brigades were ordered to capture the two positions which covered any further advance—K 5 in front of the 2nd Brigade, and the Orchard in front of the 3rd.

These were both very strongly defended points. K 5, as we learned later, really consisted of two redoubts, one some distance behind the other. The open ground between it and K 4 was swept by shells and machine-gun bullets and the only good approach was along a shallow and much battered communication trench which ran out from our line. As for the Orchard, it was admirably protected on all sides by ditches and wired hedges, and at its far end was a group of farm-houses (M 9) which had been turned into the usual machine-gun nest. Neither the Orchard nor K 5 could be reached frontally without crossing or wading through several deep ditches, which, in the then state of the ground, formed an almost impassable obstacle in themselves. Yet it was necessary for our men to flounder

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across this intervening space in the face of fierce machine-gun fire and under steady shelling which exceeded anything which they had so far experienced.

The British guns, owing to lack of material, were utterly unable to equal the volume of the German fire except for short bursts. Our bombardment of enemy strong points seldom produced any appreciable effect, and their machine guns were always ready when the infantry approached. Liaison arrangements as between infantry and artillery were still in the experimental stage. Under such circumstances that attacks should fail is not surprising. That they ever succeeded was due to the indomitable spirit of the men engaged, who here showed themselves as stubborn in offence as at Ypres they had been stubborn in defence.

In the operations fixed for the evening of the 20th, the 10th Battalion of the 2nd Brigade were to make a bombing attack on K 5, while the 16th Battalion of the 3rd farther north were to take the Orchard. Between them the 15th Battalion were to advance toward Rue d'Ouvert. Zero for all parties was 7.45 p.m. The attack of the 10th was a complete failure. Our bombardment had been quite ineffectual, no previous reconnaissance had been possible, and the troops, advancing an hour before dusk in the full view of the enemy, came under murderous machine-gun fire.

But the 16th had better fortune. With splendid dash two companies of Highlanders reached the Orchard and rushed it. Most of the Germans had retired from its front hedges during our preliminary shelling and the speed of our advance apparently surprised them. Very quickly the whole of the Orchard and its farm-houses was in our hands. An effort was made also to deal with M 10, the house farther along the road to the south-east, but its machine guns were found too active. The eastern and southern edges of the Orchard were therefore put into shape as a fire trench by the victorious 16th and by the 13th, who came up to relieve them. Meanwhile the 15th had not been able to make their full objectives but they established a line to the right of the Orchard past M 8 and M 6 toward the 2nd Brigade. This proved to be the high-water mark of our advance on the left brigade front; and the main interest, so far as fighting is concerned, is transferred to the right brigade front, where K 5 still remained to be taken.

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The 10th Battalion made a second attempt next night, May 21st, assisted by the brigade bombers of the 1st Brigade. The attack was made in two parties who deployed to left and right from behind K 4. The left party again ran into the German machine guns and was practically wiped out. The right party, getting into the trench which ran south from K 4, bombed down it for about 300 yards before they stopped. They then erected a barricade and held the trench against German attacks for the remainder of the night. With daylight on the 22nd the German guns came down heavily and obliterated the southern end of the trench, compelling them to withdraw for some distance. But the northern portion was held and handed over to the Forty-seventh (London) Division, who relieved them that night.

On this same night, the 22nd/23rd, the 1st Brigade took over the line of the 13th, 15th, and 8th Battalions. An indication of the conditions of these few days is afforded by the fact that the 8th, who had had nothing to do but hold their trenches, lost 178 all ranks in the three days that they were in the line. The place of the 10th Battalion was taken by fresh troops who had just joined General Alderson's command—the Canadian Cavalry Brigade under Brig.-Gen. J. E. B. Seely. At midnight May 4th/5th they had landed at Boulogne, having, in their impatience to see service, given up their horses and volunteered to act temporarily as infantry. Now, two weeks later, they made their début into battle, for Lord Strathcona's Horse and the 2nd King Edward's Horse came into the 2nd Brigade front, to hold it while General Currie's men made another effort against K 5.

This next attempt was entrusted to the 5th Battalion, who had so far been in support. The battalion, which was under strength, was formed into two strong companies and moved up to the assault on the night of the 23rd/24th. Careful preparations were made by special parties for bridging the ditches which lay in front of the objective, and at 2.45 a.m. just before daybreak, the attack started. It met the usual storm of bullets but somehow or other the men got through and seized K 5, or rather the western of the two redoubts which went under that designation. The German shells punished them severely and throughout the morning desperate efforts had to be made to hold on to the position and to keep

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up communications with the rear. Bodies of Lord Strathcona's Horse and no fewer than three companies of the 7th Battalion were sent up to reinforce them. All the senior officers of the 5th were by this time casualties, and Major Odlum of the 7th was put in charge. Gradually, as the day went on and our own artillery came into play, the situation became easier and the position was consolidated. At night the Royal Canadian Dragoons relieved, and next day General Seely took over command from General Currie. The hard-worked 2nd Brigade went back for a rest which they had certainly earned, their casualties during their trench tour having been 55 officers and 980 other ranks.

From this time on until the Canadians were relieved at the end of the month, the main task was to consolidate the gains made by the 2nd and 3rd Brigades. The 3rd Battalion in the night of the 24th made an unsuccessful attack on the house M 10, which still gave trouble to the men in the Orchard; and the cavalrymen attempted to extend the line from K 5 towards L 8. Otherwise the troops devoted most of their time to digging. The battle was now dying down, G.H.Q. considering, according to the official euphemism of Sir John French's report, that the immediate object in view had been attained. Our line between K 5 and M 6 ran back in a deep re-entrant and gradually this was straightened out by pushing forward advanced posts and digging new trenches. When the 14th Battalion of the 3rd Brigade took over the K 5 position from Seely's Detachment on the 27th they discovered that we only possessed half of what was known as K 5, but met with little trouble in occupying the other half and the trench all the way to L 8. From here the line was established toward M 6, and the whole connected up by communication trenches to the rear.

Such was the situation when the Seventh and Fifty-first Divisions took over the Canadian front on the 31st. The Canadians, like all the other forces engaged at Festubert, had failed to make any forward movement of real importance. But, in spite of such conditions underfoot as were enough to damp the fighting spirit of any men, they had bitten into enemy positions which had all the advantages of engineering strength and superior artillery support, and the whole operation was intended to be subsidiary to and in relief of the main French attack elsewhere.

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Their fortnight's tour had cost the Canadian infantry alone over 2,400 casualties. 'Getting out alive is one of the few pleasant recollections of Festubert,' says one who was there. Certainly the results on the spot were not worth the cost; but the main results of Festubert were political and not military.

Givenchy.

In the fight at Givenchy, on June 15th and 16th, the 1st Brigade alone was concerned. According to the reorganization of fronts at the end of May, the 4th Corps (General Rawlinson) was made responsible for the line from the La Bassée Canal to a point opposite the Rue D'Ouvert where the Canadian fighting in May had taken place. This line was held by the Canadian Seventh and Fifty-first Divisions from right to left. A general attack by the two northern divisions was set for June 15th, in which the Canadians were to assist by prolonging the advance of the Seventh for a couple of hundred yards to the south and by protecting their right flank. The 1st Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Mercer) was in the line at the time and assigned the operation to the 1st (Eastern Ontario) Battalion, commanded by Lieut.-Col. F. W. Hill.

The specific task of the 1st Battalion was to seize the two redoubts officially known as H 2 and H 3 and unofficially known as Dorchester and Stony Mountain. Having done this, they were to go on to the German support line and from there to keep touch with the progress of the Seventh Division on the left. Elaborate preparations were made for the attack. South-west of H 2 our line jutted out into a little salient known as Duck's Bill, and the Engineers had been digging a mine from here towards H 2 which was to be exploded just before the infantry assault. To make sure of clearing the wire in front of the German line the ingenious course was adopted of bringing up two field guns into our front line to fire point-blank just before zero at the German positions. At the same time bomb-stores were established and all parties carefully disposed according to the particular tasks assigned to them.

At 5.45 p.m. on the 15th the two guns opened fire and did much execution in the few minutes before the German retaliation came down upon them and knocked them out. They destroyed six machine guns at least and blew great gaps in the wire. At 5.58 the mine was exploded and the infantry went

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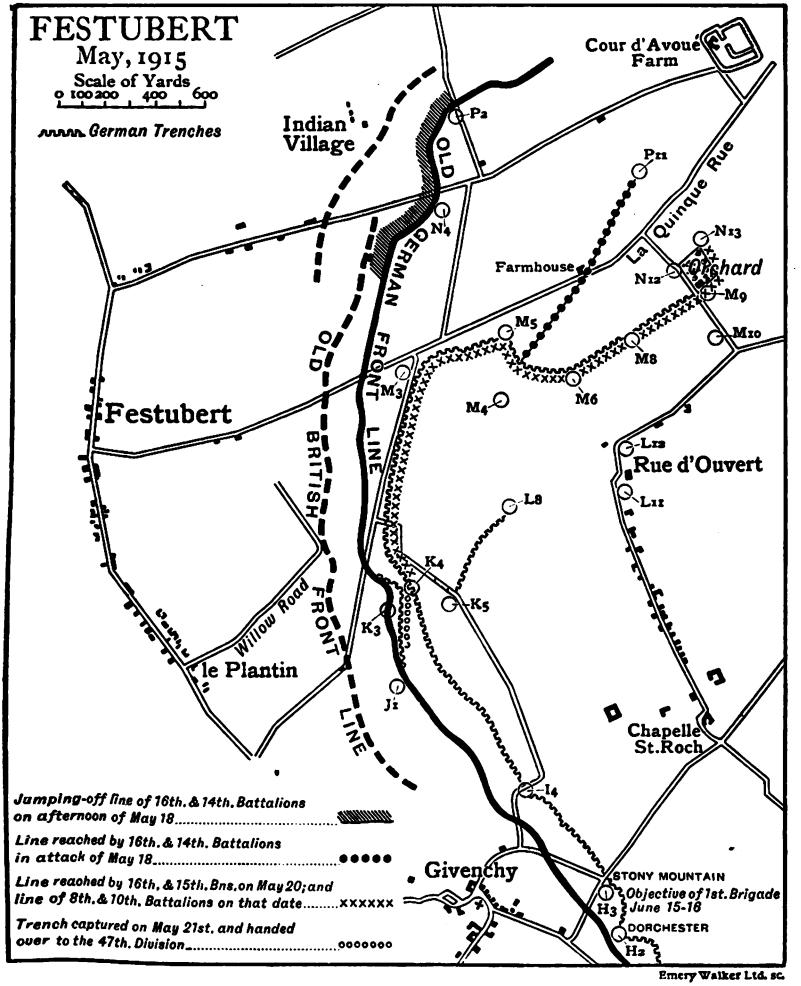

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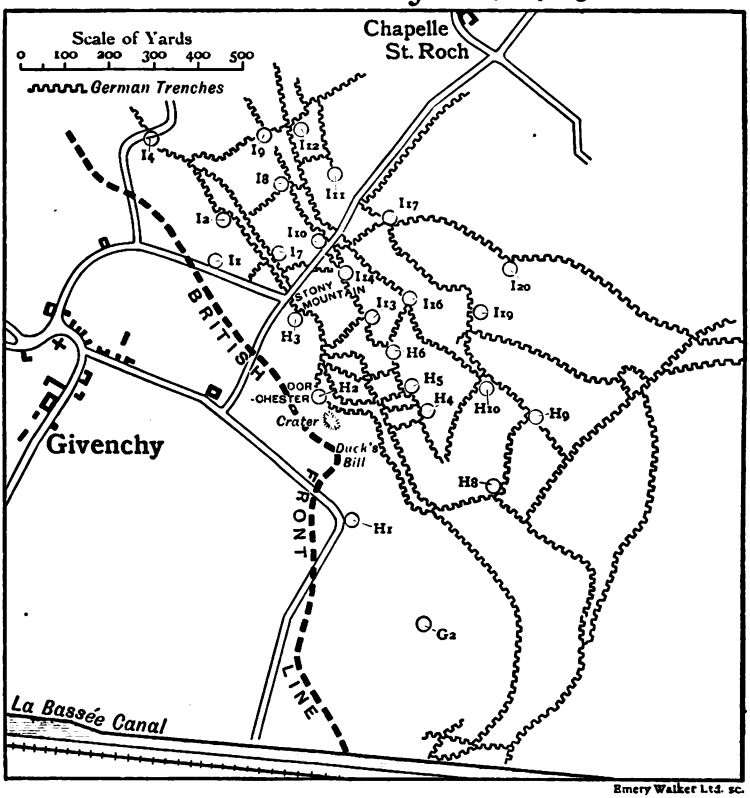
GIVENCHY, June, 1915



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over. But from that moment ill-luck dogged the whole enterprise. The mine had not been driven quite far enough forward and it caused almost as much damage to the attackers as to the defenders for whom it was meant. Besides inflicting a good many casualties it buried the right bomb-store in our front line, while shortly afterwards a German shell blew up the left one. In a trench fight which depended largely on bombs this was a serious matter. However, the first company of the attackers were quickly into the German front trenches and pressed on to the second line, which they reached successfully. But they were able to clear only a very narrow frontage. On the left Stony Mountain (H 3) remained untouched and unapproachable. The troops of the Seventh Division were held up in front of it and its machine guns caused heavy casualties to our supporting companies coming across No Man's Land. Then came the inevitable counter-attack. Our men in the German support line were bombed on both flanks, while machine-guns from Stony Mountain swept them from the left rear. Their bombs gave out and after violent hand-to-hand fighting they had to fall back to the German front line. Here the experience was repeated and between 9 and 10 o'clock the whole of the attacking force, what was left of them, had to retire to our own trenches. The 1st Battalion lost all its officers but three and almost 400 men in this three or four hours' fighting.

Next afternoon the 3rd (Toronto) Battalion was ordered to renew the attack in conjunction with the Seventh Division troops on the left. But again the German machine-guns were masters of the situation. Neither the Seventh Division nor the Canadians could get far beyond their own front line, and, in face of a hopeless situation, the Commanding Officer of the 3rd refrained from throwing in his supports. Eventually the higher commands in rear were persuaded that their repeated orders to push on were demanding the impossible, and the attempt was given up. Stony Mountain remained German as far as the Canadians were concerned, and at the end of the month the Division was moved to new scenes.

Just before the Givenchy fight another event had taken place following upon a great deal of discussion in France, in England, and at home in Canada. On June 13th the Division was re-armed with the British Short Lee-Enfield rifles; and its Ross rifles, without any great regrets, were handed over to troops on the lines of communication.

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SECTION 4. THE CANADIAN CORPS

While the 1st Division was fighting at Ypres and Festubert the troops of the 2nd Division were being gathered together in England. As already recorded, the 2nd Division was formed in Canada and its units trained there at different centres through the winter of 1914–15. By the end of May most of them had reached Shorncliffe, to which area the forces left behind on Salisbury Plain by the 1st Division had also been transferred. The Division trained here all through the summer, and in the fine summer weather the men were able to reach a much higher state of proficiency than had been possible for the 1st Division in the mud of Salisbury Plain. In the first fortnight of September the Division crossed from Folkestone to Boulogne.

Its command had at first been given to Major-Gen. Sir Sam Steele, the popular leader of Lord Strathcona's Horse in the South African War. But before it crossed to France Brig.-Gen. Turner of the 3rd Brigade was brought back from the front to take charge of it, and under his command it remained until he returned to England again at the end of 1916 to take charge of all Canadian forces in Great Britain.

The Division was composed as follows :

The 4th Infantry Brigade, like the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division, consisted of Ontario troops and was commanded by Brig.-Gen. Lord Brooke until November 1915, when he was succeeded by Brig.-Gen. R. Rennie from the 3rd Battalion. The battalions of the Brigade were the 18th (Western Ontario), the 19th (Central Ont.), the 20th (Northern and Cent. Ont.), and the 21st (Eastern Ont.).

The 5th Infantry Brigade was raised in Eastern Canada and was commanded by Brig.-Gen. D. Watson from the 2nd Battalion (succeeded April 24th, 1916, by Brig.-Gen. A. H. Macdonell). It consisted of the 22nd (French Canadian), the 24th (Victoria Rifles of Montreal), the 25th (Nova Scotia), and the 26th (New Brunswick).

The 6th Infantry Brigade came from the West and was commanded by Brig.-Gen. H. D. B. Ketchen. It consisted of the 27th (City of Winnipeg), the 28th (Saskatchewan), the 29th (Vancouver), and the 31st (Alberta).

Of the Divisional Artillery only one Brigade, the 4th, crossed

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to France with the infantry. The other three, the 5th, 6th and 7th, did not come out till the following January. The training of the gunners had been handicapped by the fact that they had been the last units to arrive in England and were for a long time under strength and without complete equipment. Command of the 2nd Division Artillery was in the hands of Brig.-Gen. E. W. B. Morrison, who had come back from one of the Brigades of the 1st Division.

The Divisional Engineers were in charge of Colonel H. T. Hughes.

The arrival of the 2nd Division in France made possible the formation of an Army Corps composed entirely of Canadians. Accordingly, on September 13th, 1915, the Canadian Corps came into existence. Lieut.-Gen. Alderson left the 1st Division to become Corps Commander and his place in the 1st Division was taken by Major-Gen. Currie from the 2nd Brigade, who in turn was succeeded by Brig.-Gen. Lipsett from the 8th Battalion. On General Turner's leaving the 3rd Brigade he was succeeded by Brig.-Gen. R. G. E. Leckie from the 15th Battalion and later, in March 1916, by Brig.-Gen. G. S. Tuxford from the 5th. Command of the 1st Brigade remained with General Mercer until November, when he was succeeded by Brig.-Gen. Garnet Hughes, who had been Brigade-Major of the 3rd Brigade.

Corps Head-quarters were opened at Bailleul and by September 22nd the 2nd Division had taken its place in the line alongside the 1st. Together the two Divisions held a front of nearly six miles from Ploegsteert Wood on the south to Vierstraat on the north. This was shortly increased until they stretched as far north as St. Eloi; and on this wide front facing the Messines Ridge the Corps remained through the winter.

Except for the great battle of Loos, which began to the south of them on September 25th, there is no fighting of importance to record during these later months of 1915. When the Loos attack began, the whole Canadian front made a demonstration to hold German troops opposite them; it was announced in the German communiqué as an unsuccessful Canadian attack. Otherwise, as autumn passed into winter, little occurred but the routine events of trench warfare. In November some variation was produced by a trench raid, the first of the autumn and winter of 1915, which was devised and carried out by the 7th

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Battalion (Lieut.-Col. V. W. Odlum). The raid was so successful that it attracted the notice of all the higher commands, and the Canadian example was soon being imitated, until organized trench raids from both sides became frequent.

Meanwhile fresh Canadian units were arriving regularly in France. In September came two Brigades of Canadian Mounted Rifles who were attached to the Cavalry Brigade, the whole going under the designation of Seely's Force. Early in October came the 42nd (Royal Highlanders of Montreal) and the 49th (Edmonton) Battalions. On November 1st the Royal Canadian Regiment landed in France after having spent almost a year on garrison duty in Bermuda.

Princess Patricia's battalion also came back to rejoin their fellow Canadians from whom they had been separated since the Salisbury Plain days. In the meantime they had seen much service with the Twenty-seventh Division and had more than justified the high hopes entertained of a battalion in whose veteran ranks, as originally enlisted, were represented every regiment but one of the British army. Their most severe fighting had been during the same battles in which the 1st Canadian Division had proved itself, Ypres 1915. Here they had held the line in front of Polygon Wood for 25 days from April 5th to May 3rd without relief; and when, after a short relief, they came back, it was to run into a terrific German bombardment and attack on May 8th which almost wiped them out. They lost 16 officers and 450 other ranks and came out under charge of a subaltern. After the Ypres fighting, in which the handful of survivors lost heavily again in a counter-attack at Hooge on May 24th, they had moved south to the Somme country with their division. Now in November they returned to the north and joined the Canadian Corps.

These various additions made it possible to form yet another Canadian Division, and at the turn of the year the 3rd Canadian Division came into being under Major-Gen. Mercer, promoted from the 1st Brigade. Its 7th and 8th Brigades were formed at the end of December from units in France, and in February 1916 the arrival of the 9th Brigade from England made its infantry complete.

The 7th Brigade was commanded by Brig.-Gen. A. C. Macdonell, promoted from the command of Strathcona's Horse. It consisted of the Royal Canadian Regiment, the Princess

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Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, the 42nd (Royal Highlanders), and the 49th (Edmonton).

The 8th Brigade was made up of the six Canadian Mounted Rifle Regiments of General Seely's force, who were now permanently dismounted and formed into four Infantry Battalions. Brig.-Gen. V. A. S. Williams, who had been Adjutant-General at Ottawa when the war broke out, was given command of the Brigade, the battalions of which were the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles Battalion (Sask.), the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles Battalion (Ont.), the 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles Battalion (Ont.), and the 5th Canadian Mounted Rifles Battalion (Quebec).

The 9th Brigade was under the command of Brig.-Gen. F. W. Hill, late of the 1st Battalion. It consisted of the 43rd Battalion (Cameron Highlanders of Winnipeg), the 52nd Battalion (North. Ont.), the 58th (Cent. Ont.), and the 60th (Montreal).

The Artillery and Engineers for the 3rd Division were for the time provided from the British Army, as no Canadian units in these arms were as yet available.

In March 1916 the ranks of the Corps were increased by three Pioneer Battalions. This compensated for the departure of the Cavalry Brigade in the previous January. General Seely's Force, from which the Mounted Rifles had been withdrawn to form the 8th Infantry Brigade, received back their horses and went to join the British cavalry. They took with them the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery, who had been in France since July 1915; and in February the Fort Garry Horse came out from England to join them, replacing the 2nd King Edward's Horse. The Canadian Cavalry Brigade, as thus constituted, had a distinguished career. They played a conspicuous part in the German retreat on the Somme in 1917, where Lieut. F. M. V. Harvey of Lord Strathcona's Horse won the V.C., and also in the first battle of Cambrai. Here on November 20th 1917 a squadron of the Fort Garrys crossed the canal at Masnières and after a brilliant dash fought their way back on foot when they found themselves unsupported. This action won another V.C. for the Brigade, awarded to Major H. Strachan of the Fort Garrys. In the later stages of the battle the whole Brigade was engaged in helping the Guards Division to check the enemy south-east of Gouzeaucourt. In the great German offensive of 1918 the Brigade fought again with

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distinction especially round Morevil and Rifle Wood, where a third V.C. was won by Lieut. G. M. Flowerdew of Lord Strathcona's Horse. During all these two years the Canadian cavalry did not see their fellow Canadians of the Corps again until they fought once more together in the great days of Amiens 1918.

COMPOSITION OF THE 1ST DIVISION IN 1916

1st Division.

G.O.C., Major-Gen. A. W. Currie.
Divisional Artillery, Brig.-Gen. H. C. Thacker.
Divisional Engineers, Lieut.-Col. A. Macphail.

1st Infantry Brigade; Brig.-Gen. G. B. Hughes.
Battalions, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th.

2nd Infantry Brigade; Brig.-Gen. L. J. Lipsett (succeeded July 2nd by Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis (from the 13th Battalion).
Battalions, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th.

3rd Infantry Brigade; Brig.-Gen. G. S. Tuxford (from the 5th Battalion).
Battalions, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th.

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CHAPTER II. 1916

THUS the spring of 1916 saw a Canadian Corps of three Divisions in the battle line. The great event on the British front in 1916 was the Battles of the Somme, and in these the Canadians took their full part. But before they moved in the summer to the new area they were to experience fighting which, while it cannot be compared in importance with the great combat that was to follow, tested the qualities of all ranks. On April 4th, after a series of moves extending over a fortnight, the Canadian Corps changed places with its neighbour to the north, the Vth Corps, and took over the line around the south-eastern face of the Ypres Salient from St. Eloi to the Menin Road, a front which it continued to hold until August. Here the 2nd Division, on taking charge of the right sector about St. Eloi, came straight into the most serious engagement in which Canadian troops had been involved since the Battles of Ypres, 1915. Two months later, on June 2nd, along the front of the 3rd Division on the left of the line, the Germans began an attack which, before the situation was cleared up, involved the united energies of the whole Corps. These two actions of St. Eloi and of Mount Sorrel are the outstanding events in the history of the Corps for the first half of 1916, as are the actions round Courcelette for the second half.

SECTION 1. THE ACTIONS OF ST. ELOI CRATERS

The fighting at the St. Eloi Craters was handed over to the 2nd Canadian Division by the Third (British) Division, whom they relieved. The Canadians took over a new line at the very worst possible moment, just after an assault had been made and before the inevitable counter-attack had developed. Their task, the consolidation and maintenance of a captured position, was, under the circumstances of place and time, more difficult than the original attack itself. In the end, after struggling

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grimly for two weeks, they had to give up all the precarious gains handed over to them. But if the men of the 2nd Division were beaten in this their first fight, they were certainly not disgraced.

The village of St. Eloi lay at the southern corner of the Ypres Salient just before the line running in from the east bent back again to its normal north and south direction. Our front trenches at the southern edge of the village formed a very shallow re-entrant for the five or six hundred yards in which the whole struggle was concentrated; the German lines faced them in the shape of a blunt salient. The position had been the scene of a good deal of local fighting because of its slight elevation, which in that flat neighbourhood had earned for it the name of 'The Mound'. It had changed hands several times already; in one of these affrays, in March 1915, the P.P.C.L.I. had seen some of their first fighting. Through the early months of 1916, while the Canadian Corps was still in its sector farther south, British engineers had been driving mine tunnels with the object of blowing up the German front line about the two roads to Warneton and Messines, and of giving us complete possession of the Mound.

Early in March, when the prospective interchange of fronts between the Canadian and Vth Corps was in the air, the 2nd Division (Canadian), which was to come into the line here, proposed that it should undertake the responsibility for the blowing up of the mines and the subsequent fighting. The proposal was taken up by the Corps, but, as the operation was set for March 15th, the Second Army Head-quarters vetoed it on the ground that a change in front could not be made in time. They were afraid that, in case of delay, the mines might be discovered. Eventually delay became necessary, as the engineers were unable to complete their work as soon as had been expected, and the operation was postponed till March 27th. This reduced the time available for the Third (British) Division to consolidate the ground which they proposed to seize; but they promised to do their best to hand over a good line to the Canadians when the relief, which was timed for April 6th/7th, should take place. The mines were fired on March 27th, and the huge craters which they produced figure in the subsequent fighting as Craters 1–7. Four days' continuous struggle followed, and at the end of it the troops had not yet made good a complete

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line beyond the craters. The German artillery retaliated with unexpected force. The whole area was waterlogged as the result of the constant shelling, which had blocked all the natural water channels, and, combined with the mine explosions, had upset the drainage of the district. Fighting under such conditions was extremely exhausting; and fears began to be entertained that the Third Division would not be able to complete the task without the help of fresh troops. It was decided, therefore, to hasten the relief by the 2nd Canadian Division, which was to take over on the night of the 3rd/4th, three days earlier than had been intended. On the 2nd/3rd the Third Division made one more effort, and managed to clear out all the craters and establish themselves in a line, such as it was, to the south. This they handed over to the 6th Brigade (General Ketchen) on the night of the 3rd/4th. The relief of the artillery was postponed, as it was not considered advisable to put in new guns and register them in the middle of an operation, and eventually the 2nd Canadian Divisional Artillery did not take over till the 13th. Already, before the infantry relief, the 2nd Division had run out a trench eastward from the old British line to the German line south of Crater No. 1, which became known as the Canadian Trench.

The line handed over to the 6th Brigade was 'more a line on the map than an actual line of defence. From the right for 290 yards it consisted of a very wet and shallow communication trench (the Canadian C.T.); thence, for 540 yards, of a deep narrow wet untraversed trench with fire steps facing north in various stretches; thence for 120 yards it consisted of a straight deep unstrutted drain; thence for 110 yards where it joined up with the old British front line, it consisted of a narrow and wet communication trench. . . . For long stretches the trenches were from 2 to 3 feet deep in water. There was no wire. There were a large number of bodies, both German and British, lying about. The actual position of the enemy had not been definitely ascertained. . . . Much damage had been done to the old British line before the 2nd Canadian Division took over. On the 3rd April the Germans had shelled the new line all day and had done much damage to the trenches, such as they were; it had been impossible for the Third Division garrison to do any appreciable amount of work on the line and the men were very much exhausted by the time their relief

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arrived.' So runs the account by the G.S.O. 1 of the 2nd Division of the state of affairs when his unit found itself responsible for the new front. The Corps, in view of the unsettled conditions at St. Eloi, gave the Division only a one-brigade front, extending to the left as far as the Ypres–Comines Canal, until such time as the situation should become more stable.

The 6th Brigade took over the front with the 27th (City of Winnipeg) Battalion on the right holding the new line as far as Point 77, and the 31st Battalion (Alberta) on the left holding the junction between the new and old lines about trench No. 19, the two craters numbered 6 and 7, and from thence the old front trench to the Canal. The whole Crater area between the new and the old lines was an unexplored porridge of mud and shell-holes. The new line could be reached only from its two flanks, and the two companies of the 27th who held the bulk of it had to file down to their positions from the Canadian communication trench. Telephone communication to the rear existed only from one spot, Point 74, an old German strong point; and the left of the line from the Warneton Road toward the 31st Battalion was so broken up that only isolated bombing or machine-gun posts could be placed in it. Obviously the first essential, if the position were to be made secure, was to strengthen the front line into a proper trench and dig a new line behind it where supports could be available within reasonable distance. The 6th Brigade with working parties from behind set about this task immediately, and on the night of the 4th/5th a new support line was sited and begun just south of the Craters. Digging and wiring continued again next day, but the work was not yet complete when the storm broke on the morning of the 6th.

Heavy German shelling during these two days undid much of what was accomplished by working parties, and, in particular, practically obliterated all traces of the front trench to the left of the Warneton Road. It imposed also a severe strain on the troops, although as many as possible were relieved during daylight and only came up to hold the line at night. An inter-battalion relief between the 27th and 29th Battalions was arranged to take place on the night of the 5th/6th, but it was not yet complete, and the working parties of the night had hardly cleared away when at 3 a.m. a terrific bombardment from the German guns began.

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Our new front line was broken up into detached fragments, and at 3.30 a.m., when the enemy attacked, they found much of it gone altogether. Mixed parties of the 27th and 29th managed to maintain themselves in the neighbourhood of the company head-quarters at Point 74, and this became a rallying centre. But farther along to the left the Germans overran the survivors of our scattered posts, and worked their way behind the line into Craters 2 and 3. Communication with the rear was almost impossible in the heavy shelling, and no one could tell what was happening or do anything to direct operations. Gradually, as the morning wore on, isolated parties from the front line collected towards Point 74; and in the early afternoon, with the enemy behind them in Craters 2 and 3 as well as in front of them, they made their way back to our old front.

Meanwhile the posts of the 31st at the extreme left of the new line were driven in towards Craters 6 and 7. There they held out against attacks, but in the confusion they thought they were in Craters 4 and 5, a mistake under which they and every one concerned laboured for the next ten days. It was a mistake which had serious consequences, for it gave the Higher Command an entirely wrong impression as to the strength of the enemy penetration. Much effort was wasted later in ineffectual bombing attacks against what the Germans quickly converted into very well-protected positions. As bad luck would have it, no flying was possible until the 16th. Our men on the ground, dominated by the higher German positions, could not reconnoitre by day from close at hand; and by night the morass of shell-holes made it almost impossible to distinguish one point from another.

By this time, late afternoon, as the news from the front filtered back, the 6th Brigade was bringing up all its available forces, and an attempt was made to restore the situation. Parties of the 28th and 31st were ordered to bomb from the left and get into Craters 4 and 5, while at the same time parties of the 27th and 29th, assisted by reinforcements from the 18th, were to drive the enemy out of Craters 2 and 3. The latter attack broke down completely under the enemy barrage and the fire of their machine guns. On the left the bombers of the 28th and 31st reached Craters 6 and 7, and finding some of our men there repeated the mistake that they were in Nos. 4 and 5. At night they tried to push on to what they thought were

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Craters 2 and 3 (but what were really 4 and 5), but darkness and rain made the ground almost impassable. It was the enemy who occupied Craters 4 and 5; and by dawn of the 7th practically all our front line of the 6th was gone, and all the Crater area except the neighbourhood of No. 1 on the right and Nos. 6 and 7 on the left.

It was high time now to relieve the nearly exhausted men of the 6th Brigade, and on the 7th their places in the front line were taken by the 4th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Rennie). The 6th had lost 19 officers and 598 other ranks. It is impossible to do justice to the strain through which its troops had passed in the four days of almost continuous shelling and fighting. They had come into a strange position, about which their predecessors could give them little information since all landmarks had been obliterated. Movement by day was made almost impossible as the shells destroyed what little cover there was; in the dark the spongy maze of craters and shell-holes and old bits of trench made the bringing up of supplies and ammunition and reliefs very slow uncertain work; and all this time the enemy fire had been steadily taking its toll of lives.

With fresh troops further attempts were made to regain our lost positions. The 4th Brigade occupied the old front line, now almost as battered as the line from which the 6th had been driven, with three battalions, the 21st, 18th, and 19th from right to left. On the night of the 8th/9th a party from the 21st tried to reach the north-west side of Crater 2, but stuck fast in No Man's Land under fire. At the same time bombers of the 18th working from the north-east approached No. 3, and some of them actually got into it or thought they did in the darkness, but the line occupied was still some fifty yards away. On the next night, the 9th/10th, another united effort was planned with the 20th Battalion assisting in the centre between the 21st and 18th. But again all attacks against the Craters from the north broke down. The 21st working from the west had better luck. They seized Crater 1, which they had found unoccupied the night before, and pushed along into the trenches between it and Crater 2, making good and blocking the length from Point 74 to Point 96 near Crater 2, and holding their gains against enemy efforts to dislodge them on that night and the next.

Meanwhile the men of the 19th on the left had been im-

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proving their position in Craters 6 and 7, connecting them up by a trench and doing their best to make them tenable against the dominating Crater 5, 75 yards away (which they still thought to be Crater 3), from which the enemy could overlook them. While, therefore, most of the 4th Brigade's attacks had failed, it was able to hand over a considerably improved front to the 5th Brigade, which relieved it on the 11th/12th. It had not had quite such a bad tour as the 6th, but its losses were 14 officers and 389 men.

The 5th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. D. Watson) remained in the line from the 11th/12th till the 18th/19th. By this time the Higher Command had decided to desist from further attacks for the present; and the front troops, along with the divisional reserves, were ordered to devote themselves to consolidating the position then held, and especially to improving the very sketchy support lines and communication trenches. On the 12th the Corps had sent down an Intelligence Officer to go over the whole situation, and his report, along with those of others, carried conviction that what was needed was digging rather than fighting. He found the old front line badly smashed in and generally of little use for defence. 'Our front line', said Colonel Hilliam of the 25th, 'is no line at all; the men are unprotected and in mud and filth, and have to be relieved every 24 hours.' We held a trench through Crater 1 which was used as a combined communication and fire trench, and the old German line beyond this from Point 74 to 96 had been converted into a fire trench facing east. But on the left things were less satisfactory. The two Craters 6 and 7 (still called 4 and 5) were shallow, and gave hardly any protection against the neighbouring Germans in Crater 5 and the trench behind it. During the daytime the positions here were constantly sniped and at night always under observation by the enemy flares. It was hard to reach them from our lines, and the task of supplying their garrisons was a constant adventure.

While therefore it would take no great effort to drive us out of our Craters, the enemy hold on Craters 2 and 3 on the other hand seemed to be well consolidated and protected. A possible course would have been to withdraw our men from their advanced positions and turn on all guns to the German craters until they were blown to pieces; but the Army Commander decided that there was not enough artillery ammunition

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available for the purpose. The only alternative was to hold on and make things as comfortable as possible.

During the next few days, accordingly, the battle died down except for the still heavy artillery fire. The Germans made a few bombing attacks at night, especially against Craters 6 and 7, but these were all repulsed. On the 16th one factor which had severely hampered us disappeared. The gale which had been blowing steadily since the action began now ceased, and our aeroplanes were able to go up. Their photographs immediately made clear that our Craters were 6 and 7, not 4 and 5, and that the German position was therefore even stronger than the unfavourable result of most of the fighting had led us to believe. This only emphasized the necessity of strengthening what lines we did hold.

It was now the turn of the 6th Brigade to enter the line again and on the 18th/19th its battalions relieved the 5th. Perverse ill fortune brought them back just in time to meet the next and last German attack. The 29th had taken over Craters 6 and 7 and were holding them with parties of 40 men in each. Shortly after 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th the enemy opened an intense bombardment along the whole front which lasted for about three hours and almost annihilated the garrisons of 6 and 7. Then they attacked. Crater 1 on the right held fast but the Germans advancing on Nos. 6 and 7 found few men to meet them. In No. 6 the handful of survivors, stuck in the mud and with their rifles out of action, surrendered. The men in No. 7 fought until the situation was hopeless and then the officer in charge with 8 men, all but one wounded, managed to escape to our lines. The others were all dead or prisoners.

Brigade Head-quarters immediately ordered a counter-attack. But in the dusk of the evening the troops detailed for it could not find their way and were not in position till midnight. Major Tait of the 29th, the officer on the spot, decided on his own responsibility not to make the attack. Even if it were successful the two Craters would be untenable, as they had proved to be already. His decision was later approved by the higher authorities when the situation was explained to them, and the enemy were left in possession.

Thus the whole of the Crater area, with the exception of our advanced posts about Crater 1, passed into German hands. The advantage of position on the Mound remained with the

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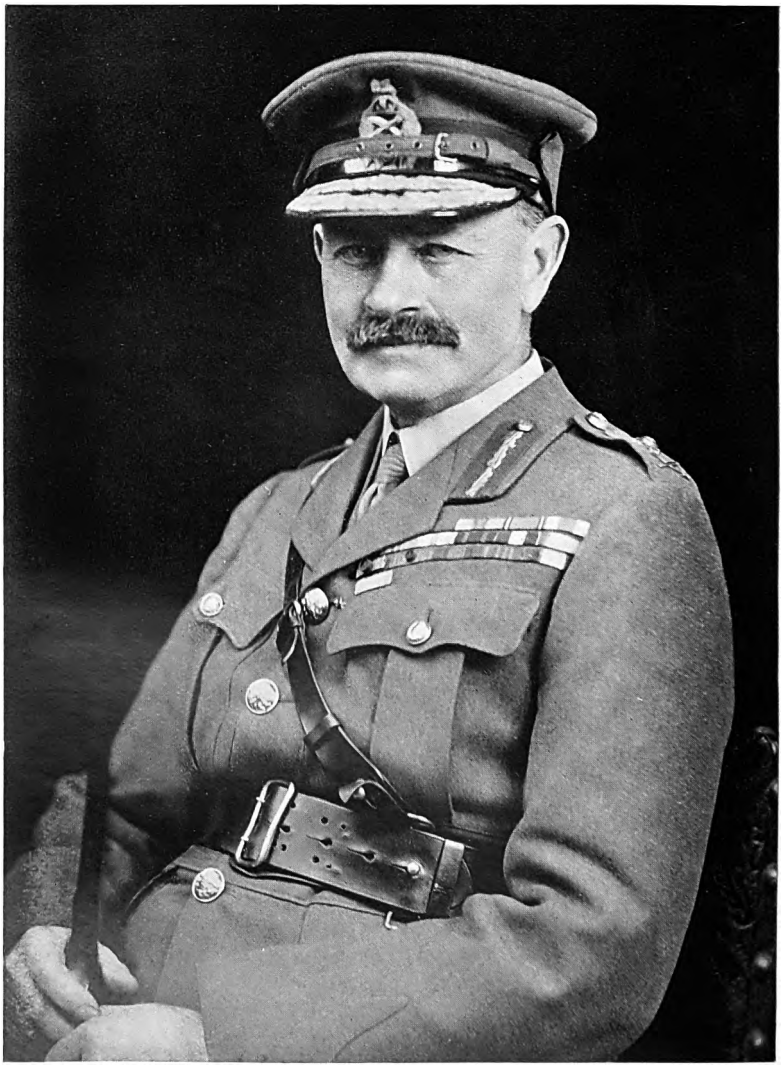

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enemy, and the 2nd Division had to admit failure in the operations which it had taken over on April 4th. It could very well plead extenuating circumstances. The fact of going straight into a fight where the nature of the ground made previous reconnaissance impossible, the bad luck of the weather which compelled the staff to fight in the dark for ten days as to the real situation, and the very heavy concentration of enemy guns—all these things had been against it. The men themselves had done everything that was humanly possible.[1]

SECTION 2. THE BATTLE OF MOUNT SORREL

Sanctuary Wood.

The chief event of May was the coming of a new commander to the Corps. On the 28th Lieut.-Gen. Sir E. A. H. Alderson resigned his command, his place being taken by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Julian Byng, who had already done brilliant work on the Western Front and at Gallipoli. The new G.O.C. quickly caught the fancy of all ranks ; and, in the year during which he had charge of them, both the troops and their leader showed themselves worthy of the unbounded confidence which they felt in one another.

. . . . . .

In Sir Douglas Haig's dispatches the fighting at Sanctuary Wood occupies a paragraph of a few lines and the troops engaged in it are not specified. But to the Canadian Corps, which fought here its first action as a Corps, it was no such small matter ; and to the 3rd Division it gave a very thorough initiation into battle, more especially into the 1916 type of battle dominated by artillery, such as St. Eloi had given to the 2nd. The fight was begun by the Germans on June 2nd in an attempt to delay the British preparations for the greater combat which they knew to be impending. Their attack succeeded for some distance, but there was no break-through and no general engagement developed. In the end the Corps by itself, without calling in outside help, except from the artillery, was able to restore the situation.

At the beginning of June the Corps was still holding its front with the same dispositions as in April. On the right was the 2nd Division in the St. Eloi neighbourhood, in the centre the

[1] Casualties of the 2nd Division at St. Eloi—54 officers, 1,899 other ranks.

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1st Division extending north to just beyond Hill 60, and on the left the 3rd Division, extending to the Bellewarde Beek north of Hooge, where it joined up with the Twentieth Division. The line here ran along the inner edge of that irregular ridge which encircles Ypres on the east. On the 3rd Division's sector this ridge was highest toward the south, the left of the Division's front at Hooge, lying inside the main line of the ridge which crosses the Menin Road farther east near Clapham Junction. Just at the right of its sector lay Mt. Sorrel. A little to the north, from two small eminences known as Hills 61 and 62 there ran out a spur of high ground to the west towards Zillebeke, known as Observatory Ridge. The slopes both north and south of Observatory Ridge were wooded and, while eighteen months' warfare had thinned the woods greatly since the days of the first battle of Ypres, they were not yet reduced to the few blasted stumps which the shell-fire of 1916 and 1917 left. North of Observatory Ridge the ground gradually sloped down through Sanctuary Wood towards the Menin Road. But just south of Hooge, separating the knoll on which the village stood from the slopes of Sanctuary Wood, stretched an open valley of low-lying meadows.

The Canadian front trenches ran along the line of Mt. Sorrel and Hills 61 and 62, and then through Sanctuary Wood until they came to this valley at the north end of the wood. Here there was a break in the trench system, known as the Gap. Hooge itself was covered by a broken line of trenches which was continued in the shape of bombing posts as far as the Bellewarde Beek. Immediately behind the front line on the right was a fairly intricate system of support and communication trenches strengthened still further by scattered strong points. On the left the support line ran back past the rear of Sanctuary and Zouave Woods towards the north-west, so that it covered the valley between the woods and Hooge, and could be used as a switch-line if Hooge fell. From the support line running to the rear were two long main communication trenches. All of these various trenches had their official numbers and most of them had been given names (see map). Behind the support line there was no trench line till the Zillebeke Switch, on the low ground at the rear of the ridge ; so that it was essential to hold on to the front system or be pushed off the ridge altogether. From this point of view the weak point was the area behind

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Mt. Sorrel at the western end of the Observatory spur, between Maple Copse and Square Wood, which was not covered by any trench whatever.

The 3rd Division was holding the line on a two-brigade front, with General Williams' 8th Brigade on the right and General Macdonell's 7th Brigade on the left. The 9th Brigade was in reserve far back in camps to the south-east of Ypres. General Williams had the 4th C.M.R. on the right of his front in the Mt. Sorrel area, and the 1st C.M.R. on the left about Hill 61 and Hill 62. In support were the 5th C.M.R., mostly in Maple Copse and in strong points near by, and in the reserve camps were the 2nd C.M.R. The 8th Brigade H.Q. were at Zillebeke Bund. Of the 7th Brigade the P.P.C.L.I. extended through Sanctuary Wood from Warrington Avenue to where the trench line ended in the curved trench known as the Appendix, and the R.C.R. were holding the Hooge trenches. The support companies of the R.C.R. and P.P.C.L.I. were in touch along the support trench, the so-called R line. In brigade support were the 42nd, divided between Zillebeke Bund and the Ypres Ramparts, where were situated the Brigade H.Q.; while in reserve were the 49th.

The battle of Mount Sorrel in June 1916 falls very clearly into four phases: (1) the German attack on June 2nd, which carried all the front line except the extreme left at Hooge; (2) the unsuccessful counter-attack of the Canadians on June 3rd; (3) the second German attack on June 5th, which carried the Hooge position; (4) the successful Canadian counter-attack on June 13th, which recaptured their original positions over the whole of the right half of the divisional front.

The Germans had recently been running out saps in front of their line and connecting them up. This was thought to mean trouble from their side, especially as for the last few days the shelling had been above normal. It so happened that General Mercer, the G.O.C. of the Division, had gone up on the morning of June 2nd, along with General Williams, to inspect the front of the 8th Brigade. Colonel Ussher of the 4th C.M.R. was taking them over his battalion area when at 8.30 a tremendous bombardment fell upon the whole divisional front. General Williams was wounded by one of the first shells and ultimately taken prisoner. General Mercer, after sending a message asking for retaliation by our guns, was making his

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way back to Head-quarters when, in Armagh Wood, he was hit and could go no farther. That same evening he was killed outright by a bit of shrapnel which pierced his heart. His A.D.C., who had remained with him, was later captured by the enemy, and when our men came back in their counter-attack they found the General's body still lying there.

The bombardment was a fitting prelude to the great battle of the latter half of 1916. For 4½ hours it continued steadily and the answering Canadian fire did not lessen its intensity. The whole trench system of the 4th C.M.R. was blown to pieces and the battalion was practically wiped out. After the action, when there was breathing space to reckon up what had happened, it was found that, out of a strength of 22 officers and 680 other ranks, the 4th C.M.R. had lost 21 officers and 657 other ranks. The German attack which came at 1.00 in the afternoon must have found few survivors to meet it. To the left, the 1st C.M.R. fared almost as badly. Colonel Shaw was able to keep up communication with Brigade Head-quarters until just before the German assault, and put up a fight for some time along Vigo St. He himself fell, as did all his officers except two, and finally these two with a handful of men managed to make their way back to Border Lane. Back in Maple Copse the support battalion, the 5th C.M.R., came under almost as severe a fire as the front line and had heavy casualties. So fierce was the bombardment about 1.00 o'clock that they did not know at first that the enemy were attacking. But when the whole front of their brigade went, those that were left of them made a stand along Border Lane and the front of Maple Copse and, connecting up here with the P.P.C.L.I. and a company of the 42nd who were sent up by the 7th Brigade to help them, undoubtedly saved the line from breaking altogether.

On the 7th Brigade front, the P.P.C.L.I. had also felt the fury of the shelling. Their left company, however, escaped some of the worst of it and managed to hold out in the Appendix, though cut off on both sides, till far into the night when the remnants retired to the support line. The right company was practically wiped out. Colonel Buller collected his supports into Warrington Avenue and Lovers' Walk and here they resisted the strenuous attempts of the Germans to drive them out. Colonel Buller himself was killed while encouraging his men from the top of the parapet. Across the Gap at Hooge the

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R.C.R. were not so knocked about by the shelling and maintained their position intact, repelling two enemy attacks.

But the situation by 2 o'clock was sufficiently serious. The 8th Brigade front had gone altogether. The Germans were in possession of Mt. Sorrel and Hills 61 and 62 and were spreading over Observatory Ridge. They were into the right of the 7th Brigade line and here were only being held back by desperate trench fighting. What line the Canadians possessed was held by the remnants of the P.P.C.L.I. in Warrington Avenue and Lovers' Walk, and from there by the 5th C.M.R. and the remnants of the other two C.M.R. Battalions back to Maple Copse. The area from Maple Copse to the south was entirely open. The line was stiffened during the afternoon by the 42nd, the support battalion of the 7th Brigade, and by two companies of the K.R.R., sent across from Hooge by the Twentieth Division and put into the R. trenches on the left. To make matters worse, neither the 7th nor the 8th Brigade could for a time get definite information as to what was happening, while the 8th Brigade and the Division had lost their commanders. Fortunately the Germans seem to have won their main objectives in their first rush, and they did not pass through the gap on the Canadian right, but proceeded to consolidate their gains. Brig.-Gen. Hoare-Nairne from the Lahore Artillery, which was acting as divisional artillery, took charge of the Division for the time and conducted the remaining operations until General Lipsett came from the 2nd Brigade after the battle was over.

Immediate counter-attack with any considerable force was impossible because the supports, the 5th C.M.R. and the 42nd, were already used up in the line. It was necessary to wait therefore until the reserves from farther back could be collected. By midnight the 2nd C.M.R. had reached Maple Copse, having left their commanding officer at Zillebeke Bund to take charge of the 8th Brigade. An attempt was made during the night to establish a line south from Maple Copse, but the shell-fire in the open proved too heavy.

Meanwhile the 7th Brigade reserve, the 49th, was coming up and General Macdonell was given also two battalions of the 9th Brigade, the 52nd and 60th, to use on his front. On the 8th Brigade front it was arranged that the 1st Division should supply the troops for the counter-attack. General Lipsett's

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2nd Brigade was to attack in the direction of Mt. Sorrel with two battalions (the other two were holding the line to the south), and General Tuxford's 3rd Brigade was to advance towards Hills 61 and 62 on a two-battalion frontage, the 15th and 14th in front and 16th and 13th in support. In touch with them on the left Colonel Griesbach of the 49th was to take charge of an attempt to recover the lost trenches of the P.P.C.L.I.; he was to attack with the 49th and 52nd in front and the 60th in support.

This threefold counter-attack did not finally begin until after daylight next morning. The delay was due to the difficulty of bringing up the new battalions in the dark, through the enemy barrages, into unfamiliar positions, and it could hardly have been avoided. But the attacking troops thereby lost their best chance of success, for the enemy had had time to take up strong positions and consolidate them. As these exact positions were not known, our artillery was unable to direct its fire very effectively. The infantry themselves had to go through the rough country which had once been a thick wood without knowing where to expect opposition, and those who had arrived early at their assembly positions spent the night shivering in the rain.

The right (2nd Brigade) and centre (3rd Brigade) attacks, however, pushed off on the signal at 7.10 a.m. A morning of confused fighting followed. Some few men seem to have penetrated as far as our old front line. But they were not able to maintain themselves and by noon the whole attack was back practically at its starting-point. Here they had to content themselves with establishing a line from Maple Copse passing by Rudkin House toward Square Wood, where contact was made with the 1st Division line to the south.

On the left matters were still worse. The 49th had made its way up to the assembly position during the night, but the 52nd and 60th were caught by the shelling at China Wall and checked. Eventually the 60th, which was behind, passed through and managed to reach its support position, but its companies were still badly strung out when the attack should have started. The 52nd did not get up at all. Colonel Griesbach, anxious to keep up with the brigades on the right, decided to attack with the 49th by itself. The men passed through the P.P.C.L.I. and pressed on, into their first fight, under good

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control, but they could make little headway, and finally, about noon, desisted after they had lost 16 officers and 345 other ranks.

The attack, therefore, was a definite failure and nothing could be done for the time but to consolidate the line as it then stood. During the next two nights the remains of the 7th and 8th Brigades were relieved and their places taken by the 9th Brigade on the right and the 6th Brigade on the left in and behind Hooge. Another counter-attack was planned, but bad weather had set in and action was postponed until better conditions should follow and the artillery should be able to register on the new German positions.

In the meantime a fresh German attack at the northern end of the divisional front succeeded in driving us out of Hooge.

On the 6th of June the 6th Brigade was holding its line with the 31st Battalion on the right and the 28th on the left. Along this front at 7 a.m. a severe German bombardment began once more and continued through the morning. It was evident that an attack, either at Hooge, or through the Gap toward the old support line, was imminent; but, as on the 2nd, the German shelling made communication between front and rear very difficult. Then suddenly at three in the afternoon four mines were exploded directly under our Hooge front line. One company of the 28th here was wiped out and the enemy occupied the front without much trouble. Only the stubborn defence put up by the supports in the communication trench along the Menin Road prevented them from penetrating farther. The 31st also were attacked through the Gap in the trenches and had stiff fighting to beat off the enemy.

The question of a counter-attack to recover the lost ground of the 28th had to be decided immediately. Again, as on June 2nd, all the local supports had been used up in the line and fresh troops from the reserves were too far back to be quickly available. The old support trenches also made a good line of defence, and, in the end, the Germans were left in possession of their gains.

Thus by the evening of the 6th the whole of the original front was gone. But the enemy made no further move and the Corps was left free to develop plans for retaliation. On June 8th the 2nd Division (to which was added the 9th Brigade) took over the whole Corps front except the St. Eloi sector, for which

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a British brigade assumed responsibility. The troops of the 1st Division, which had been chosen for the task of the counter-attack, were withdrawn to the rear to rest and prepare; while the 3rd Division, which had suffered most, went back to refit and reorganize. Its losses during the week June 2–8 had been 148 officers and 3,921 other ranks.

For purposes of the proposed attack the infantry of the 1st Division was re-distributed. It was desirable that Generals Lipsett and Tuxford should be in charge of the operations as they had been working together since the days of St. Julien, when they had stood side by side with the 8th and 5th Battalions, and they had also been in charge of the attack of June 3rd over the same ground. But some of their battalions were weak as the result of that fighting and accordingly two composite Brigades were formed.

The right Brigade under Lipsett consisted of his own 7th and 8th Battalions with the 1st and 3rd from the 1st Brigade and was to attack the Mt. Sorrel area. To the left of him Tuxford's Brigade, made up of the 16th and 13th Battalions from the 3rd Brigade and 2nd and 4th from the 1st Brigade, was to advance towards Hills 61 and 62. The remaining battalions of the 1st Division were formed into a reserve Brigade under Brig.-Gen. Garnet Hughes. The attack was set for the night of June 12th/13th.

In the meantime the Corps gathered together a mass of heavy artillery which proceeded systematically to pound the new German positions. The bombardment was the most thorough work that British artillery had done up to this date, and General Burstall, who was in charge of it, had some justification for his remark that the infantry could go over at zero with their rifles slung.

At 12.45 a.m. on June 13th in the middle of a windy and rainy night a final intense barrage was laid for three-quarters of an hour on the German front trenches. At zero hour, 1.30, it lifted to the old British front line and our troops advanced. The attack of General Lipsett's forces was made by the 3rd Battalion toward Mt. Sorrel, the 7th on their right doing a bombing demonstration in the neighbourhood of Hill 60. To the north of the 3rd were the 16th and 13th of General Tuxford's command astride the Observatory Ridge road. These with their supports were to constitute the main attack, which covered the

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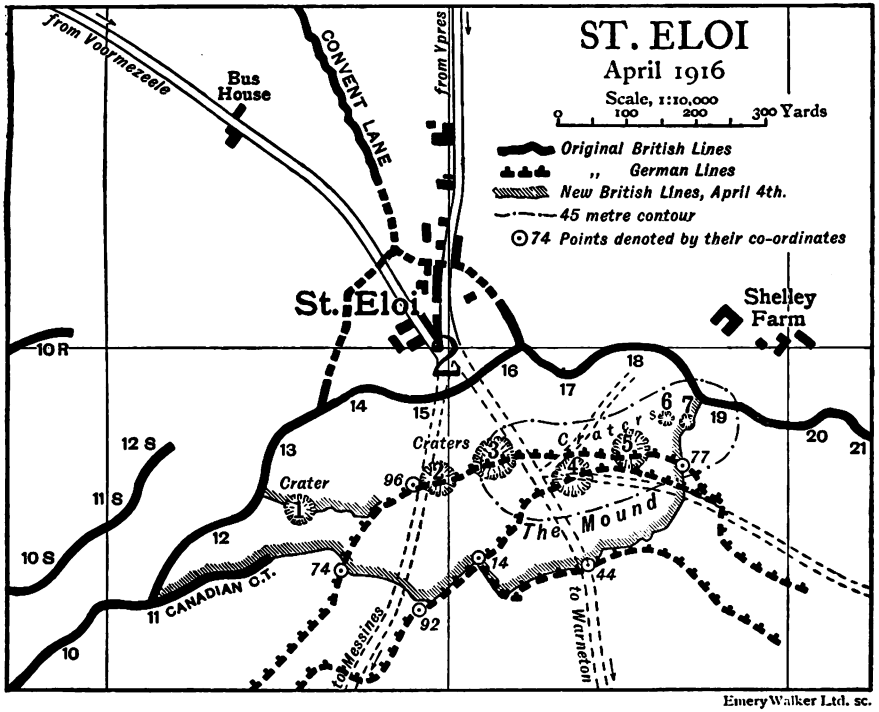

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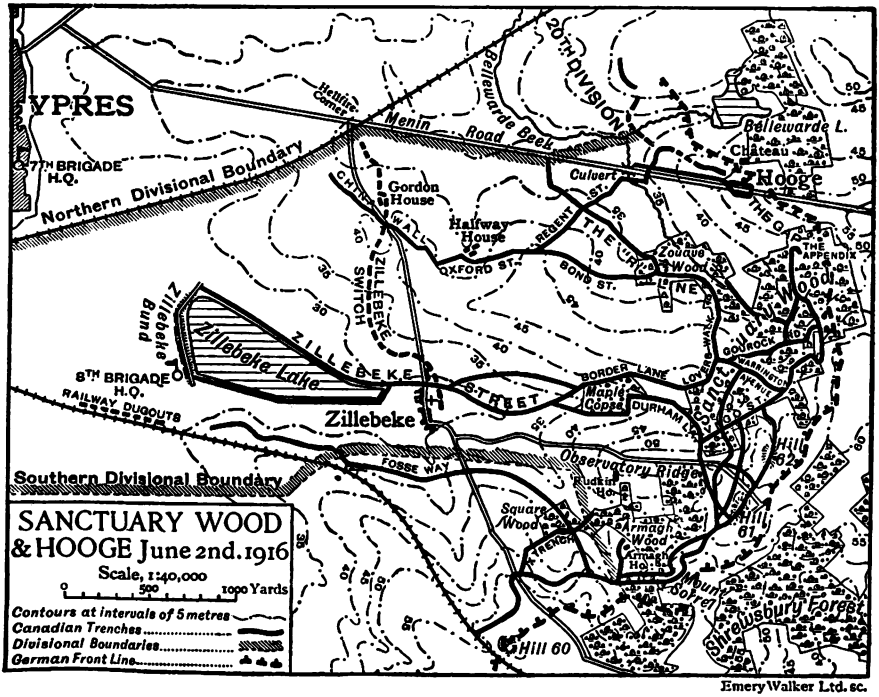

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whole of the old June 2nd front of the 8th Brigade. The left flank of the attack was to be guarded by the 58th Battalion of the 9th Brigade, who were to bomb forward along communication trenches till they connected up with the 13th.

This time the preparation had been thorough and the advance all along the front went with hardly a hitch. The German first line was taken easily, the garrison still being cowed by the artillery bombardment and not expecting the infantry assault so soon. By 2.30 a.m. after sharp fighting at scattered points practically all our men had reached their final objectives, the old British front, and there they proceeded to establish themselves. This proved a very difficult and arduous task. The country had been made almost unrecognizable by the combined effects of our own and the German shell-fire since the morning of June 2nd and by the heavy rainfall of the past week. On the left these conditions led to a slight mistake as to position, but generally our new front was constructed along the old front trenches. And here the line stood. The inevitable German counter-attacks came in the morning after severe shelling, but were broken up largely by our own concentrated bombardment. By nightfall our new front and communication trenches in spite of shell and rain were well established, and the German threat to push us off the ridge had been finally met. Except for Hooge and the old front near the Gap, we were once more in possession of all the ground of June 2nd.

After this outbreak in the first fortnight of June the Canadian front settled down to a condition of comparative quiet. All through the summer the Corps remained here holding the line and no fighting took place except the usual series of trench raids. The most important event was the arrival in August from England of the 4th Canadian Division, who on the 25th relieved the 2nd Division in the line. But by this time the 1st Division had already left for new fields, and on September 3rd Canadian Corps Headquarters handed over the command of this sector of the Salient to the First Anzac Corps. At the same time the First Anzac Corps handed over the sector in front of Pozières to the Canadians, and the 'Byng Boys' began to take their part in the great battles of the Somme.

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SECTION 3. THE SOMME

When the Canadians left the ill-omened Salient in August 1916 a new phase in their history began. Hitherto most of their fighting had been defensive. From the time that they entered into the Somme battles they were engaged till the end of the war in an almost continuous series of offensive operations. In the course of these actions the Corps made itself known as a striking force second to none in the Allied armies, notable not only for the resourceful and energetic spirit of the individual soldiers but still more for the thorough and business-like staff organization which gave its individual soldiers their chance. The result was that during the next two years a long and glorious list of victories was inscribed on the Canadian record—the impromptu feat of Courcelette, the elaborately prepared and almost perfectly executed assault on Vimy Ridge, the seizure and stubborn holding of Hill 70, the well-nigh superhuman struggle up the ghastly slopes of Passchendaele; and, in the last hundred days of the war, the series of triumphs won by the combination of technical perfection with the fighting spirit—Amiens, Arras, the Drocourt–Quéant Line, the Canal du Nord, Cambrai, Valenciennes, and Mons.

These names mark the red-letter days in the Corps calendar. But the great days are bound together by months of strenuous effort, of which the tale is apt to seem monotonous, while occasionally the result is failure. Not all can be described in small space; and even in telling of the famous battles it is impossible to give in any brief account an adequate impression of what was done and endured. The individual enterprise, the courage and self-sacrifice which lie behind the bald communiqué that 'the final objective all along the line was reached on time', must often be left to the reader's knowledge or imagination. To make clear in short compass the Canadian share of the two years' offensive which begins on the Somme, the first essential is to set out the objectives of each operation, the obstacles in the way and the degree of success attained; and with this for the most part we must rest content.

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Two features made the Somme fighting, upon which they now entered, a new kind of experience to the Canadians. One was the character of the country, so widely different from that of

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the low-lying Ypres Salient. Open rolling uplands, dotted with little closely-built village settlements which were linked by a network of roads, many of them sunk in the sides of the slopes, made admirable ground for strong defensive works. For two years the Germans had been taking advantage of their opportunities. The villages and the few isolated farms had been turned into strong redoubts elaborately constructed with dug-outs and tunnels for protection from shell-fire and crammed with machine-guns. These strong points were linked up by a maze of trenches carefully sited for fire effect and thickly wired. So far this defensive system had proved extremely difficult to pierce. Progress, though substantial, had been costly and slow, and it had not been possible to break through one line quickly enough to prevent other lines in the rear from being constructed.

To overcome the fortifications and the machine-guns of the enemy the British had developed their artillery, and gunfire became the second great feature of the Somme fighting. Our attacks went forward supported by a concentration of guns the like of which had never been known up to that time. As a rule the artillery of two or three divisions provided the barrage for the infantry of one ; and behind the field guns were ranged group after group of heavies doing bombardment and counter-battery work. Artillery dominated everything. Objectives must be minutely defined so that they could be covered by an exact barrage and the infantry must move according to a strict time-table in order to keep pace with the protecting curtain of shrapnel. When our high-explosive was successful in blowing up the German trenches and wire and our shrapnel barrage could keep down the deadly machine-guns until our infantry were on them, the attacks were usually successful. Otherwise they met with fearful losses. The Canadians were to have their taste both of success and of failure, and almost invariably the failures were due to the wire and machine-guns which the artillery had not destroyed. It is true that the first Canadian attack on September 15th saw the introduction of a new weapon for dealing with wire and machine-guns—the Tank. But in 1916 the tanks were still too few in number and too imperfect in construction to affect materially the general tactics of an engagement.

The battles of the Somme had now been in progress for some

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nine weeks. By the time when the Canadians arrived on the scene the British had won a good part of the old German second line and were established on the crest of the highest ridge in the Somme area, along the line through Pozières, Longueval, and Ginchy. But on the left flank of their advance, at the north-western end of this crest, the Thiepval plateau overlooking the Ancre was still in German hands. Thiepval after the failure of July 1st had remained unmolested, and in the meantime the Australians had been pushing along the Albert–Bapaume road to the south of it. By the beginning of September they were well in front of Pozières. Of the two dominating points on the ridge here, the Windmill on the Bapaume road and Mouquet Farm about half-way between Pozières and Thiepval, they had taken the former, but Mouquet Farm still resisted all their efforts. Fierce fighting was still going on in front of it when the Canadians took over this part of the line.

Farther along the Bapaume road, a new German line had been constructed, based upon the villages on the reverse side of the main ridge, Courcelette, Martinpuich, and Flers. Courcelette at the north-western end of the line was protected in front by a strong outpost, the Sugar Factory about half a mile to the south of it on the Bapaume road, which had been made the nucleus of a trench system on the usual German plan and which must fall before either Courcelette or Martinpuich could be assaulted. This barred the way to the east. Confronting any advance to the north was a series of trenches connecting Courcelette with the Thiepval positions—the Fabeck Graben running towards Mouquet Farm, and behind it Zollern trench running towards Thiepval itself with the Zollern Redoubt in the centre of it. Farther back lay the long lines of Hessian and Regina trenches guarding the valuable high ground north of Courcelette, the capture of which would give us observation over the Ancre.

The section of the British line which the Canadian Corps took over from the 1st Anzac Corps on September 4th ran across the Bapaume road in front of the Pozières Windmill from a point about 500 yards to the right of the road towards Mouquet Farm (see map). In this position the Corps was on the extreme right of the Reserve or Fifth Army, and its right flank joined up with the left of the Fourth Army. The Corps

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on either flank were the Third on the right and the Second on the left. The Canadian line, while it crossed the Bapaume road at right angles, faced north rather than east; and most of the attacks after the first great advance towards Courcelette were to be in a northerly direction.

The veteran 1st Division, under Major-Gen. Currie, was the first to arrive from the Salient and went into the line on a two-brigade front, with the 1st Brigade on the right and the 3rd on the left. Its task was merely to hold the line in preparation for the next great British offensive which Sir D. Haig was planning. But from the very start it ran into fighting and the 3rd Brigade on the left especially had a few very uncomfortable days. The situation about Mouquet Farm was still uncertain after the last Australian attack. Shelling was continuous and for a time all communication forward of Brigade H.Q. was cut. The 3rd Brigade had therefore to accomplish the double task of establishing a definite line and of beating off counter-attacks. To the south the 1st Brigade had a quieter time, but there was one small German salient in front of its right flank which had to be bitten off in order to obtain a satisfactory line for our next attack. This piece of work was carried out on the 9th by the 2nd Battalion, with a precision that left nothing to be desired. On the 11th and 12th the 2nd and 3rd Divisions relieved the 1st, which went back to the rest camp west of Albert. Our line was advanced and straightened out by the digging of jumping-off trenches at varying distances in front, and everything was made ready for the great offensive. It is indicative of what life on the Somme meant that during this 'normal' period to September 13th the Corps had casualties of over 2,600, almost all incurred by the 1st Division.

September 15th is one of the great days in the long battles of the Somme. Along almost the whole front of the Fourth Army our attacks were pushed forward to a success such as no single day's fighting had yet achieved. It was the day of Flers, High Wood, Martinpuich, and Courcelette, and only on the right wing of the Fourth Army did our troops fail of their objective. In this great advance the function of the Canadian Corps was to protect the left wing of the Fourth Army. On its right the Third Corps was attacking against Martinpuich. To keep pace, the Canadians were to advance astride the Bapaume road and make good the outer bastion of the Courcelette and Martinpuich

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defences—the Sugar Factory. It was only when this task had been performed with surprising completeness in the early forenoon that it was decided to push on the same day in a quickly organized assault and take Courcelette itself. By nightfall the Canadians had gained the greatest success which they were to achieve on the Somme, a sudden and exhilarating victory won with incomparable dash and spirit; and September 15th stands out in marked contrast to the days of desperate and exhausting conflict which followed.

In front of the Canadian line towards Courcelette a mile away lay a difficult bit of country. The German front line, which, like our own, was the result of recent trench to trench fighting, was not expected to give much trouble; but beyond it was a formidable-looking defence system. About 1,000 yards down the Bapaume road stood the ruins of the Sugar Factory, now strengthened into a great redoubt and throwing out two long arms of trenches towards the south and west. To the south towards Martinpuich ran Candy Trench. Just to the north of the factory this trench joined up with another at right angles, Sugar Trench, which ran out westward towards Macdonell Road. Macdonell Road was a second-class road connecting Ovillers and Courcelette, running parallel with the main Bapaume road and about 800 yards north of it. The eastern portion of it in front of the Canadian line was sunken and entrenched. Cutting diagonally between these two roads from the Canadian front line towards Courcelette ran Taffy Trench along another sunken road. The Sugar Factory, lying in the angle between Sugar and Candy trenches, with Macdonell Road, Sugar Trench, and Taffy Trench enfilading any advance towards it, seemed a hard enough nut to crack. Behind it, about 500 yards farther on, ran a second line between the two villages based on the sunken road known as Gunpit Road; while the edges of Courcelette itself afforded positions for further defences, whose strength could only be tested by actual attack.

The general Canadian objective for the day was set at the line of Candy and Sugar trenches. This was to be taken by the Second Division (Major-Gen. Turner), whose plan of attack was to go straight through on the right, where the field was clear, to Candy Trench and the Sugar Factory, and on the left to advance in the same direction but to stop at Sugar Trench, so that the troops here on obtaining their objective

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would face north. The Division was to attack on a two-brigade front. On the right General Rennie's 4th Brigade was to advance with the 18th and 20th Battalions south of the Bapaume road, and the 21st north of it, the 19th coming along in an intermediate wave across the whole brigade front to do the necessary mopping up. On the left the 6th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Ketchen) was to attack with the 27th and 28th Battalions in front and the 31st in support. As the Sugar Factory was expected to cause the most trouble, the Division was given the assistance of six tanks, three of which were to go straight along the Bapaume road, and three along Sugar Trench. The barrage was to move at the rate of 100 yards every three minutes, and the final objective was to be reached at zero + 43 minutes. At zero + 73 minutes the barrage would lift to a line beyond Courcelette and the Gunpit Road, whereupon the 4th Brigade was to send out patrols to examine the road, and the 6th Brigade to do the same towards the village. The 5th Brigade, in reserve, was under orders to be prepared to continue the advance should opportunity offer.

The main rôle of the 3rd Division (Major-Gen. Lipsett) was to form a defensive flank to the general attack, thus safeguarding the left flank of the 2nd Division, which, in its turn, formed the left wing of the main British advance. The 3rd Division had the 8th Mounted Rifle Brigade (Brig.-Gen. Elmsley) in the line, the 7th and 9th being in Corps reserve. Its right battalion, the 5th C.M.R., was to attack and consolidate about 250 yards of the German front trench north of Macdonell Road, and connect it up with the existing Canadian line. This would permit of enfilade fire along Sugar Trench, the objective of the 2nd Division. At the same time the left battalion, the 4th C.M.R., was to carry a raid into Mouquet Farm in order to keep the enemy occupied in this direction.

September 15th broke clear and bright and at 6.20, zero hour, the barrage opened. Everywhere our advance went well, in spite of resistance from scattered posts and severe shelling which swept our waves as they moved across the open. Before 8 o'clock both brigades of the 2nd Division were in touch on their final objective, and were receiving the congratulations of the divisional commander. The Sugar Factory fell a surprisingly quick prey to the men of the 4th Brigade, who were assisted in cleaning up its machine guns by two of the tanks,

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the only tanks which managed to get through to that point. Before 9 o'clock the Brigade's patrols were into Gunpit Trench, and soon the whole line of the trench and the road behind it were in Canadian hands. The 6th Brigade was equally successful in securing its line, and the patrols of its 31st Battalion towards Courcelette were soon out towards the edge of the village. On the left the subsidiary operations of the 3rd Division also proceeded according to programme. The 5th C.M.R. seized their bit of trench quickly and with few casualties, while Mouquet Farm, which had been a thorn in our side for so long, was entered by the raiders of the 1st C.M.R. and found to be inhabited only by German dead.

Very quickly it was decided to exploit success farther on both divisional fronts that same day. At 11.10 in the morning the written orders to take Courcelette and Fabeck Trench were issued, and at 1.15 p.m. zero hour was fixed for 6.0 in the evening. For this second attack the 2nd Division was given as its objective the line from Gunpit Road around the east and north edges of the village, including the maze of trenches on the east. From the north-western corner of the village the line was to be continued to the left by the 3rd Division on the far side of Fabeck Graben, so as to include all of that trench and to give a good jumping-off position for a future attack against Zollern Trench. The 2nd Division entrusted the taking of Courcelette to its reserve brigade, the 5th (Brig.-Gen. A. H. Macdonell), while the 3rd Division ordered up its 7th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. A. C. Macdonell) to undertake the major portion of the Fabeck Graben attack.

The battalions of the 5th Brigade made their way up through the ceaseless shell-fire of the enemy over the newly won ground, wheeled to the left at Candy Trench, and plunged into the open. No time had been possible for reconnaissance other than a brief survey of the ground from far behind and the Brigade was later congratulated by the Army Commander for an attack which began in the open 'without any jumping-off place in the nature of trenches', a thing 'without parallel in the present campaign'. On the right were the 22nd French Canadians, and on the left the 25th from Nova Scotia. They divided the village between them, the church spire giving them a landmark during their approach and the main street subsequently forming their boundary. Behind them came the 26th with two companies

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supporting each for mopping up. Both the front battalions went straight and swiftly through the village. There was some sharp bayonet work at the start, but the 25th were on their objective by 6.25 and the 22nd twenty minutes later. The 22nd included the quarry at the north-east of the village in their line which then ran back along the sunken road at the eastern edge. Coming behind, the 26th split up into sections and slowly cleared the cellars and lurking places in the village ruins. This work went on all next day and by the end of it the three battalions had taken over 1,000 prisoners. This was not all, for during the night of the 15th/16th the 22nd had to beat off seven counter-attacks, and the 25th four ; and between shelling and counter-attacks the Brigade was given little peace for the next two days. On the 17th an effort was made to complete the work by clearing out some of the positions north and east of the village from which the enemy were giving trouble but it was only partially successful, and finally on the 18th the Brigade was relieved by the 1st Division. Its brilliant exploit had cost in casualties 87 officers and 1,267 other ranks.

While the men of the 5th Brigade were making their swift rush through Courcelette, the 7th Brigade to the left of them was meeting with more determined resistance. Three objectives had been laid down. The first of them, Macdonell Road, was to be cleared by the P.P.C.L.I. and the 42nd (Royal Highlanders of Montreal), who were then to go on and seize the second —the Fabeck Graben. Here the 49th (from Edmonton) were to leapfrog them and establish themselves on the final objective, the ridge beyond the Fabeck Graben facing Zollern Trench. On the left the 8th Brigade with the 4th C.M.R. was to keep pace and run a flank line back to the jumping-off position.

The 7th Brigade had a long march of five miles over difficult country through enemy barrages before it was in a position to attack, and like the 5th Brigade had no time for reconnaissance. However, at zero the front battalions pushed off punctually and crossed Macdonell Road without much trouble. The 42nd also made their way into Fabeck Trench, as did the 4th C.M.R. on their left, but the centre of the P.P.C.L.I. line was held up about the junction of Fabeck with Zollern and the men could not force an entrance, although they were in on both sides. Undeterred by this check the 49th tried to push on to the final objective, and as dusk fell some

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confused fighting took place. In the end they managed to advance beyond Fabeck Graben, around the chalk mound in the angle between the two trenches, but the Germans still held the gap in the P.P.C.L.I. line, and in this situation the line settled down for the night.

Next day the 3rd Division was instructed to continue the attack and make good the line of Zollern Trench up to and including the Zollern Redoubt. This was bound to be a difficult operation. So far all attacks in the neighbourhood of Mouquet Farm from the south had broken down because of the exposed nature of the ground, and of the flanking fire from the west. General Lipsett therefore decided to try a new plan and attack from the east. For this it was necessary first of all to secure the eastern end of Zollern Trench so that the troops destined for the Redoubt could form up facing west between the two trenches with their flanks secure. This preliminary task was entrusted to the 7th Brigade, already on the spot, while the 9th (Brig.-Gen. F. W. Hill) was ordered up for the main assault. It was a complicated plan, involving a change of direction in the middle of the operation, but it offered the chance of surprise. At 5 p.m. on the 16th the R.C.R. and the 42nd of the 7th Brigade advanced against the eastern end of Zollern. But they were unable to make much headway. It turned out that the Germans had also been bringing up troops, presumably for an attack of their own, and they held the trench in great strength. The 49th were ordered up to reinforce the attack, but the enemy shell fire was so severe that the order failed to reach them before 11 p.m. By this time the attacking troops were so intermixed that further operations were out of the question, and the proposed attempt of the 9th Brigade on Zollern Redoubt was abandoned. The junction of Zollern and Fabeck Trenches had been cleared, however, and with this result the Division had to remain satisfied for that day.

On the 20th two battalions of the 9th Brigade, the 43rd and 58th, made a further attempt against Zollern Trench. This also broke down, though the men succeeded in breaking into the trench, and it was decided to leave Zollern until a set attack on a big scale could be organized. Accordingly, on the night of the 22nd/23rd, after ten strenuous days in the line, the 3rd Division was relieved by the 1st, and went back to a well-earned rest.

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The 1st Division, which had already relieved the 2nd, held the whole Corps front for a few days and, with the brief period of comparative quiet which ensued, the first phase of the Canadian fighting on the Somme came to an end. The net result was that the Corps had pushed a mile to the east while acting as a pivot to the whole British attack on the right, had seized an important village position, and brought its whole line into a good position for further advances. Its casualties during the week September 13th–20th had been slightly under 6,000; as things went on the Somme this was perhaps not excessive.

It is interesting to note the verdict passed upon the tanks in their first operation. Only two out of six had got forward on the 15th, but one of these two had been of the greatest assistance about the Sugar Factory. The others had all broken down either from mechanical troubles of their own, or through injuries due to shelling. 'Without doubt the tanks are a moral support to infantry as long as they are in action, and a good deal of the shrapnel is diverted from the infantry on to them.... They are very susceptible to injury from shell and are liable to break down. No action of the infantry should ever be made subservient to that of the tanks. They are a useful accessory to the infantry but nothing more....' So runs the report of the Corps Commander. General Turner was of opinion that mopping up would in future be the chief rôle of these new engines, but thought that, had it been possible to push some of them through the final objective while the enemy was still in confusion, Gunpit Road and Courcelette might have been in our hands by 10 in the morning; this, however, would have required a larger number of tanks than were available, considering how many might be counted on to break down. Needless to say, these were much more sober estimates than the public were reading in the newspaper accounts of September 15th.

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The remainder of the Canadian fighting on the Somme has a unity of its own which is afforded by its main objective—Regina Trench. The ultimate purpose of the various attacks in conjunction with those of the 2nd Corps on the left was to get possession of the high ground north and west of Courcelette. Had complete success been obtained we might have seen ourselves over the ridge and down to the Ancre before winter set in.

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But the Germans held on to their next lines with a stubbornness far beyond anything experienced at Courcelette, and the bad weather of October and November helped them to delay us indefinitely. So it came about that the Canadian attacks only got beyond Regina at the very last and on a very narrow frontage. After Courcelette there followed three weeks of persistent and exhausting effort in which our men twice reached their goal only to be hurled back. Then in the middle of October the Corps and its three senior Divisions were withdrawn with the task still unaccomplished; and, while fresh Canadian troops helped in the final capture of Regina, it was too late in the year to reap any fruits from the victory.

The struggle falls into four stages. First came the attack on September 26th by the 1st and 2nd Divisions which, followed by the German withdrawal north-east of Courcelette on the 27th/28th, was successful in advancing our line to within striking distance of Regina along the whole Corps front. Then followed the two desperate days of October 1st and 8th, the 2nd and 3rd Divisions attacking on the 1st, and the 1st and 3rd Divisions on the 8th, only to fail on both occasions. But, while the two attacks were failures, the line crept a little closer to its objective; and finally in the fourth stage, after the Canadian Corps had departed to the Vimy front, its junior Division, the 4th, took part in the series of attacks which won the whole of Regina and even the new Desire support line behind it. These successive engagements have none of the spectacular interest that attaches to September 15th, and the monument to commemorate Canada's share in the battle of the Somme is to be placed on the Bapaume road facing Courcelette. But they proved a more trying test of the fighting spirit of the Corps and they cost it more than half its casualties on the Somme.

The 1st Division, as already related, had relieved the 2nd on September 18th and the 3rd on September 23rd. On the 25th the 2nd, after barely a week's rest, came back into the line, taking over part of the long front held by the 1st, and the stage was set for the next big attack.

The front had been shortened at both ends. On the right the 3rd Corps had extended as far as the Bapaume road and on the left the Mouquet Farm front had been taken over by the 2nd Corps. From the junction of the Bapaume road with Sugar Trench the 2nd Division was holding the line round the

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eastern and northern edges of Courcelette to the left of the West Miraumont road. From this point the line ran, under the charge of the 1st Division, to the Fabeck Graben, with a short stretch in advance of that trench round the chalk mound, and thence to the left Corps boundary which lay on the Pozières–Miraumont road about half a mile east of Mouquet Farm.

The attack of September 26th was part of a more general scheme. On the 25th the whole of the Fourth Army from Martinpuich southward had resumed the offensive which had halted since the 15th. Next day the Fifth Army, to bring the left flank of the British forces into line, began its attack on the Thiepval position and the trenches connecting it with Courcelette. As part of this attack the Eleventh Division immediately to the left of the Canadians assaulted Zollern and Stuff Redoubts and the Zollern and Hessian Trenches running out of them. The Canadian share of the general operation was to advance alongside of the Eleventh Division and push out our line north of Courcelette.

To the 2nd Division on the right was assigned a comparatively short advance. It was to seize the new German line around the north-east of Courcelette from Twenty Road to the West Miraumont road. This objective included a part of Kenora Trench between the two Miraumont roads. Posts were also to be planted beyond the objective in Twenty Road, in the Practice Trenches, and up Courcelette Trench. These operations were entrusted to the 6th Brigade with the 29th Battalion on the right facing the Practice Trenches and the 31st on the left in the difficult stretch commanded by the two sunken roads and Courcelette Trench.

Originally the 1st Division was ordered to make good the line of Kenora and Regina Trenches, but, as the condition of Regina was not known, it was decided to leave it until our patrols could reconnoitre it from close at hand. The 1st Division therefore was to gain possession of a line running along Kenora Trench, thence across the open to the Hessian Trench, and along that trench to the junction with the Eleventh Division. It attacked with two Brigades, the 3rd (Brig.-Gen. Tuxford) on the right with the 14th and 15th Battalions in the line, and the 2nd (Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis, who had succeeded Major-Gen. Lipsett) on the left with the 5th and 8th in the line.

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Zero hour was 12.35 p.m. The attack went forward all along the line under a 'lovely' barrage. The 29th on the right reached their objective without much trouble, but the 31st, after advancing some distance, were held up for the remainder of the day by machine guns in front of Kenora and across the Miraumont roads. To the west of them the two brigades of the 1st Division swept on in fine style towards the Kenora and Hessian line and reached most of their objective quickly. But they met with trouble on both flanks. On the right the 14th Battalion could not get touch with the 6th Brigade, as the 31st had not come up. The situation here was obscure for a time; some of the 14th and 15th being reported even in Regina Trench; but it was gradually cleared up and the men settled down in their part of Kenora. On the extreme left the 5th had some difficulty in making good the whole of Hessian Trench and there was a long gap between them and the Eleventh Division farther west. Next morning, September 27th, the 7th Battalion was brought up and bombed along Hessian Trench for several hundred yards; but the gap was not finally closed for two days.

Meanwhile there was stubborn fighting all along the line north and west of Courcelette. A part of Hessian Trench was recaptured by the Germans in the centre of our line and then recaptured again by the 2nd Brigade. The troops of the 3rd Brigade were forced out of Kenora and consolidated a new line facing it. On the 6th Brigade front the 31st attacked their objective a second time after nightfall on the 26th, only to be beaten back, but they persisted and on the following day made it good.

Their success formed part of a general advance which the 6th Brigade was able to make on the 27th almost without opposition. During that day the Germans were discovered to have withdrawn along the whole front from the Bapaume road to Courcelette Trench. Immediately fresh battalions were pushed out, the 19th between Courcelette and the Bapaume road and the 26th to the north; and for the first time the Canadian Corps Cavalry Regiment came into action, its patrols making their way as far as Destremont Farm on the Bapaume road. By nightfall of the 28th our line had gone forward slightly between the two Miraumont roads, and to the east it ran around the Practice Trenches towards Destremont

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Farm, where it joined up with that of the 3rd Corps. Everywhere we were in position to assault Regina; and while the attack of the 26th had not gone with the precision of that of the 15th, it had been so successful as to warrant the expectation of further advances.

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Yet the next two attacks, on October 1st and 8th, were almost complete failures. The Germans were now back in one of their strongest trenches, and it was vital to them to make a stand here if they were not to be driven farther to the rear and off the high ground above the Ancre altogether. They therefore fought desperately, defending their line with intense artillery and machine-gun fire, and wherever we made an entrance, flinging in troops unsparingly in repeated counter-attacks. On both October 1st and October 8th our troops pushed into Regina in isolated parties only to be overwhelmed by sheer force of numbers. The losses were heavy; the operation of October 1st cost almost as much as that of September 15th, and there was little to show for it. Fighting of this kind was a severe test of morale, and conditions became still more trying when early in October the weather broke and the dismal autumn of 1916 set in.

By October 1st the 3rd Division was back in the line after only 5 days' rest. It held a one-brigade front on the left along Hessian Trench. The remainder of the Corps front was held by the 2nd Division with two brigades. The objective of the attack for this day was the general line of Regina Trench, except on the right north of the Practice Trenches, where it was a line running east and west across open country from the junction of Regina with the East Miraumont road. For this right section the 4th Brigade was responsible and its 20th and 18th Battalions attacked. The 5th Brigade in the centre was to take Regina from the East Miraumont road to Twenty-three Road with three battalions, the 22nd, 25th, and 24th, in the line. This was a particularly stiff task, for it included the triangle enclosed by Courcelette and Kenora Trenches running towards Regina. As the result of the Courcelette fighting, the brigade was greatly under strength, and General A. H. Macdonell with all his battalion commanders reported unfavourably on the proposed operation, which ended very much as they predicted. To the left of the 5th Brigade, the 8th

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Brigade of the 3rd Division was responsible for the remainder of Regina as far as the Corps' left boundary, and it was also to throw back a flank line towards Hessian Trench; these tasks were assigned to the 5th and 4th C.M.R.

Zero hour was 3.15 in the afternoon. Along the whole of our line the attack started in good style, but only on the right was any permanent advance made. Here the 20th and 18th worked their way across the open for about 400 yards, and dug in a new line which they maintained in spite of severe fire. But to the left of them the story was far different. The 22nd, between the two Miraumont roads, came under terrific fire from the front and flanks, and only a few managed to reach Regina, there to be killed or taken prisoners. So badly were the French-Canadians cut up that the 26th behind them had to take their place. The 25th met with almost as hot a reception. They went through Kenora successfully and continued towards Regina, but only a few odd parties managed to penetrate the wire here and of them but a handful ever came back. The 24th had better success, and effected an entrance into the trench itself about the junction with Kenora and to the left towards Twenty-three Road. But the enemy were on both flanks, and slowly they were driven in until only one post remained.

On the 8th Brigade front no better fortune was encountered. Both the 5th and the 4th C.M.R. found wire in front of them. One company of the 4th adopted the desperate expedient of filing down a communication trench and deploying on the German side of the wire, but the attempt was wrecked by the enemy machine guns. Of the two battalions only one company of the 5th succeeded in getting a good footing in the trench. They established blocks on both flanks, and with the help of reinforcements held on desperately through the afternoon and night against repeated counter-attacks. No touch could be found with the 24th to their right, who during the night had to withdraw the last of their posts. Finally, at 5 o'clock in the morning the 40 or 50 heroic survivors of the 5th C.M.R. came back also. 'At 6 a.m. October 2nd the situation was practically similar to what it had been before the attack.'

October 1st was a costly day. The 5th Brigade had gone into the line on September 27th with a trench strength of 1,717; it came out on October 2nd with 773, and the losses of other

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units were almost as heavy. In compensation, the net result was that a slight advance had been made on the right, north-east of Courcelette, while in the centre we held the greater part of Kenora and Courcelette Trenches leading towards Regina; but of the objective itself the whole length was German.

By this time the bad weather of the 1916 autumn was beginning, soon to prove a greater obstacle than the enemy. Our next attempt on Regina had to be postponed owing to conditions which made artillery observation impossible, and it did not take place until October 8th. In the meantime Corps boundaries had again slightly shifted, and the 1st Division was back in the line alongside of the 3rd. On the day before the attack, also, the British troops of the Corps to the right had got into Le Sars and the trench line in front of it towards Dyke Road. To keep touch with them the 1st Division was ordered to capture on October 8th the double line of Below and Below Support Trenches up to and including the Quadrilateral where they crossed the two Gallwitz Trenches. From this point to the left for about 1,000 yards it was to seize the line of Regina. The remainder of Regina as far west as Twenty-three Road was to be taken by the 3rd Division, which was also to advance farther and make good the high ground north of it across the two Miraumont roads (see map). Both divisions attacked on a two-brigade front and each brigade used two battalions in the assaulting line. From right to left the units were: the 4th and 3rd Battalions round the Quadrilateral, the 16th and 13th along the remainder of the 1st Division's front, the 58th and 43rd as far as the West Miraumont road, and the R.C.R. and 49th from there to the left Corps boundary.

The attack was set down for dawn, 4.50 a.m., on October 8th. After the bitter experience of October 1st some doubts were felt as to the success of the wire cutting in front of Regina during the stormy weather of the preceding week, but both the brigades of the 3rd Division expressed themselves as satisfied in this respect. When, however, they reached the line of the wire in their attack they found that during the night the Germans had thrown out concertina-wire in the gaps, and had also made a new line immediately in front of the trench. To add the finishing touches to the difficulties of the attack rain began shortly after zero and continued through most of the day.

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Yet at first the attack met with a certain amount of success, especially on the right. The two battalions of the 1st Brigade, the 3rd and 4th, penetrated their objective, gained the Quadrilateral, and found touch with one another, and with the units on each flank. In doing so, however, they used up most of their bomb supply, and in the afternoon when a heavy German counter-attack came on they were unable to hold it up. The enemy burst a gap between them. Slowly the 4th were bombed down Below Trench, and the 3rd down Regina, and by early evening the survivors were back in their original line. Preparations for a counter-attack were immediately begun, but the orders were countermanded and the Brigade had to content itself with digging a trench in the night to connect up with the British troops on the right. The day's fighting had cost the two battalions almost 700 casualties.

The attack of the 3rd Brigade on the left, which had gone forward at the same time, did not meet with even an initial success. The 16th (Canadian Scottish) forced their way into Regina and during the morning were in touch with the 3rd about the Quadrilateral; but the 13th on their left were held up by wire and lost heavily. Then came the German attacks of the afternoon. The 16th soon found both flanks in the air and, fighting desperately, were gradually driven in. By nightfall only one post remained and under cover of darkness it was withdrawn from its impossible position. Next morning the whole of the 1st Division's line was practically what it had been before the attack.

Nor were the units of the 3rd Division more successful. Everywhere they ran into the same sort of fighting as had taken place on the first of the month along the same front. The 58th failed almost entirely, being stopped except at one point by uncut wire. A few of the 43rd got through but were driven out again. The R.C.R. on the 7th Brigade front did better and two of their companies made an entrance west of the West Miraumont road with few initial casualties. But beyond them the 49th were finding new wire in front of the trench and the R.C.R. were left by themselves. As soon as the situation cleared and it was found that they alone of all the division's attacking forces had met with any success, every effort was turned towards reinforcing them. The Corps Commander ordered the position to be held at all costs and gave instructions that, if

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necessary, the Reserve Brigade, the 8th, was to be thrown in. But it was already too late. The P.P.C.L.I., who were closest at hand, moved up only to find the remnants of the R.C.R. coming back, having been overcome by superior numbers. And so the situation had to be left. October 8th had proved even more unsuccessful than October 1st, for not an inch of ground had been gained.

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These costly failures did not alter the determination of the higher command to push on in this vital portion of the line. But orders for a fresh offensive had to be postponed from day to day owing to the abominable weather, which turned the front trenches into ditches of mud and made the bringing up of supplies and ammunition over the wasted area behind a slow and toilsome process. When the next attack did come the Canadian Corps had moved. The first three divisions made their way north to the Vimy area, which was to be their camping ground for more than a year. They left behind them the latest addition to the Corps, the 4th Division under Major-Gen. D. Watson, which entered the Somme area immediately after the attack of October 8th. With the departure of the Canadian Corps the 4th Division came under the orders of the 2nd Corps consisting, besides itself, of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-fifth, and Thirty-ninth Divisions. General Watson's troops had already had front-line experience, for they had been holding the line in the Ypres Salient since the latter part of August and had tried their hand in a number of successful trench raids. They were now to go through their initiation into battle on a big scale.

The 4th Division comprised the 10th, 11th, and 12th Infantry Brigades. Their composition had been altered several times during the long period during which the Division was forming in England, owing to the needs for reinforcements at the front, especially after the heavy fighting at Sanctuary Wood. When finally, during August, they reached France they were composed as follows :

The 10th Brigade was commanded by Brig.-Gen. W. St. Pierre Hughes from the 21st Battalion, and consisted entirely of Westerners, with one battalion from each province. These were the 44th Battalion (Manitoba), 46th Battalion (South. Sask.), 47th Battalion (British Columbia), 50th Battalion (Alta.).

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The 11th Brigade was commanded by Brig.-Gen. V. W. Odlum, from the 7th Battalion, and consisted of the 54th Battalion (Kootenay), 75th Battalion (Toronto), 87th Battalion (Canadian Grenadier Guards, Montreal), 102nd Battalion (B.C.).

The 12th Brigade was commanded by Brig.-Gen. J. H. MacBrien, who had come to France as the D.A.A. and Q.M.G. of the 1st Division. It consisted of the 38th Battalion (Ottawa), 72nd Battalion (Seaforth Highlanders of Vancouver), 73rd Battalion (Montreal), 78th Battalion (Winnipeg).

Of these the 38th Battalion before coming to France had spent a long period on garrison duty in Bermuda.

The Artillery which accompanied the Division to France was that of the 3rd Division under Brig.-Gen. J. H. Mitchell, late of the 3rd Brigade, C.F.A.

The October and November operations of that part of the Fifth Army which lay south of the Ancre, the 2nd Corps, had for their object the capture of Petit-Miraumont, Grandcourt, and St. Pierre Divion, and subsequently the forcing of a passage across the Ancre in co-operation with the forces to the north of the river. To accomplish these objects it was necessary first of all to capture Regina and Stuff Trenches, and it was in this preliminary operation that the 4th Division had its first share of fighting. The attack took place, after many postponements, on October 21st.

The 4th Division was holding the line captured by its fellow Canadians from the neighbourhood of Destremont Farm on the right to Courcelette Trench on the left, where it was in touch with the Eighteenth Division. The left half of this front was in charge of General Odlum's 11th Brigade and on the 21st it was given the task of taking Regina as far east as the Pys road. The Eighteenth Division was responsible for the western portion of the trench, while on the right the 10th Brigade was to connect up with the 11th's new line by means of saps driven out from its own front trench. The whole operation was a complete success. The 102nd and 87th Battalions got into Regina without much trouble, the enemy being evidently surprised. A still more welcome change from previous Canadian experiences followed when they were left in possession without any very serious counter-attacks. They established a block at the eastern end of their new line and the 10th Brigade was quickly joined up with them on the right.

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This success made it seem as if the enemy were at least prepared to give in and it was decided to carry out a further preliminary operation and capture the remainder of Regina to the east. On the morning of the 25th, accordingly, the 44th of the 10th Brigade went over the top. But they ran into severe machine-gun fire from the right flank and found the Germans in strength in Regina itself. The attempt, therefore, had to be given up and the eastern end of Regina was left for a bigger attack.

For two weeks nothing could be done. It was useless to attack again until the guns could put in some good shooting on the trench and the wire in front of it; and artillery work of this kind was made almost impossible by the steady bad weather, which prevented observation. But all plans were made and it was arranged that the assault should take place as soon as two fine days gave the gunners a chance to pound the objective. The fine days came at last on November 9th and at midnight on the 10th/11th the 10th Brigade sent its men forward. A hurricane barrage for eight minutes rested on Regina, and then the Canadians rushed it. The attacking forces were the 46th, 47th, and 102nd Battalions, the last having the task of bombing up the German trench which ran into Regina near the 11th Brigade's block. Everywhere they were successful. The 46th and 47th overran the trench for about 100 yards until our own shelling compelled them to return. The trench itself which had so long defied us turned out to be very disappointing. It was knee-deep in mud, its dug-outs had only been begun, and altogether it was quite as uncomfortable as the Canadian trenches facing it.

The way was now open for the larger operation to the north towards the Ancre River. But by this time the weather had saved the Germans. The ground was in such terrible condition and the season was so late that it was recognized that our full objectives had little chance of being accomplished. Farther to the left, it is true, the Fifth Army was winning some brilliant successes. On November 13th the 2nd Corps took St. Pierre Divion; while the 13th and 14th witnessed the capture of Beaumont-Hamel and Beaucourt north of the river. On the right, however, there was still too great an advance to be made to reach the river in one bound; and for the next big attack on November 18th, which proved to be the last one of the campaign, the objectives were more modest.

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The 4th Division extended its front considerably to the left, relieving part of the Eighteenth Division, and was to advance all along the front from Farmer Road to the ravine about 500 yards west of the West Miraumont road. Again the fighting was entrusted to the 10th and 11th Brigades. On the right the 10th Brigade was to seize a new German trench about 300 yards beyond Regina so as to protect the flank of the 11th Brigade, which was given the chief task of the day. This was to capture the whole line of Desire Trench (see map) and establish a new line beyond it. To carry out this advance two additional battalions from the 12th Brigade, the 38th and 78th, were attached to General Odlum's forces; and the attack took place with four battalions in the front line, the 75th, 54th, 87th, and 38th from right to left.

At zero on the 18th the whole line got away in good shape. The 10th Brigade was attacking with two companies of the 50th and one of the 46th and their objective lay on the far side of the crest line in front of them. They reached it successfully at first, but in their exposed position the enemy machine guns played havoc with them. Eventually the 50th had to withdraw, 2 officers and 60 other ranks strong. A few of the 46th held on in shell holes all day and did not come back till night. But no ground was gained. The brigade was fighting partly on a front which it had just taken over from the 11th and the men had had no time for preparation or instruction as to their new positions, a fact which undoubtedly contributed to the failure.

The 11th Brigade was more successful. Its four battalions pushed through to a line beyond Desire Trench in quick order. The 87th and 38th on the left even went beyond and had parties into Grandcourt Trench, 500 yards in front. Had the Eighteenth Division on their left been able to keep pace, this advanced line might have been made good, but it was too dangerous to hold on a narrow front and the men of the 38th and 87th were withdrawn. The only flaw in the 11th Brigade's success was on the right, where a gap was left between the 75th Battalion and the 10th Brigade with a nest of Germans still holding out and causing trouble. When the situation cleared it was found that the 75th had swung a little too far to their left, but the troublesome Germans were blotted out by our artillery during the next few days and practically the whole line of Desire Trench became Canadian.

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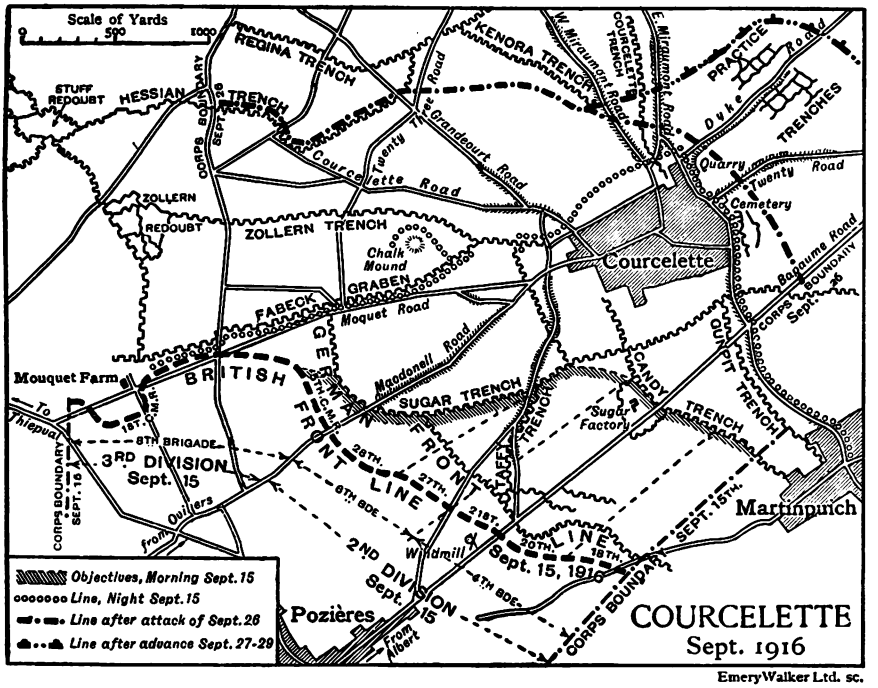

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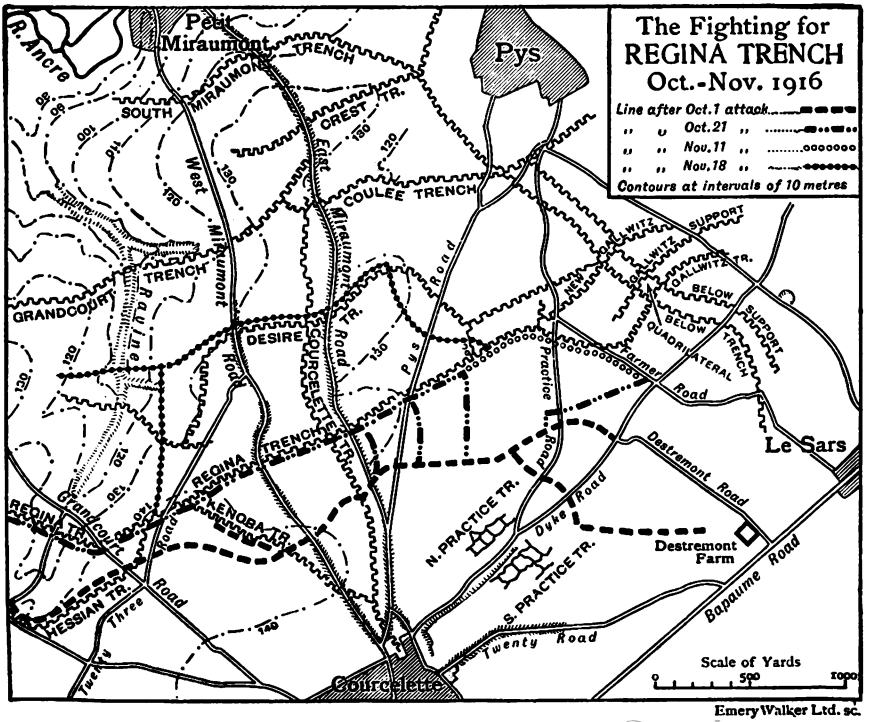

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The attack of November 18th marked the limit of the 1916 advance. Our troops now settled down to dig communication trenches and improve conditions generally for the winter. The 4th Division remained at this work until the end of the month, when it moved north to rejoin the Corps and take its part in the long and methodical preparations for Vimy.

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On the whole, the verdict to be passed on the Canadian share in the battle of the Somme is the same as that which applies to the general British effort. The battle cost the Canadians 26,574 casualties and, compared with their engagements in 1917 and 1918, it afforded them comparatively small gains in ground or prisoners. But, apart from the importance of the capture of Courcelette, as to some extent isolating Thiepval and facilitating its capture, the justification of the expenditure of man-power, whether Canadian or British, in the Battles of the Somme lay in the fact that the fighting by Ludendorff's own admission depressed the morale of the Germans and raised that of their adversaries, that it went far towards wearing out German resistance and preparing the way for future and final victories.

Editorial Note.

A short explanation of the normal form of attack in 1917 trench warfare may be useful at this point in elucidating some of the technical terms used in the narrative.

The essence of this form of attack was that it had always *limited objectives*. By allotting a strictly defined task to each unit, it was possible to have a plan worked out in the utmost detail beforehand, allowing for the full co-operation of the different arms. These arrangements were worked out to a very exact time-table. In order to ensure secrecy, the timing was reckoned to and from a point known as *Zero*, which was the moment at which the infantry advance started. Times before this were 'zero minus' so many minutes or hours; times after it were 'zero plus' so many. The exact time of zero was then notified later, as late as possible before the attack. In larger operations the day itself was kept secret until a late stage in the preparations, and the earlier and later stages were reckoned in zero minus or plus, so many days. The objectives allotted to each unit had to be reached within definite limits

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of time. The infantry advance was preceded by a *creeping barrage*, that is to say, the massed fire of the artillery was directed on successive lines ahead of the infantry advance. Every few minutes after zero the guns directed their fire at targets a few yards farther on, and it was the task of the infantry to advance as closely as possible to this creeping barrage without running into it.

It was therefore important that the infantry advance should be steady and uninterrupted, and that they should reach their objective as soon as possible and start consolidating the very much damaged position against a counter-attack. Special parties were accordingly detailed to follow the main advance and 'mop up' the area it had passed over; that is, to kill or capture any parties of the enemy who might have retired during the barrage into deep dug-outs from which they would be able to emerge later and take our infantry in the rear.

It was found that the only means of penetrating for any distance into a strongly fortified trench system was to divide it into successive objectives, generally known as '*Red*', '*Blue*' *or* '*Green*' *lines*, each allotted to a different body of troops. The first wave of the advance had only to make good the first and nearest objective. While they were consolidating this, fresh troops who had been waiting in support moved up to the original front line and then through the captured area to the first objective, and through that, protected by a fresh creeping barrage, to the second objective. This system was generally known as *leapfrogging*. In large operations there was usually a third objective and a third set of troops allotted to it, passing through the first and second; but in all these operations the maximum limit of the advance was usually the farthest limit of the range of our artillery, which could not as a rule be moved forward during the operation, at least not beyond the original front line.

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CHAPTER III. 1917

SECTION I. THE OVERSEAS MILITARY FORCES OF CANADA, 1917

DURING the latter months of 1916 and the early part of 1917 a thorough overhauling of Canada's overseas forces took place. With a Corps of four divisions in the field and the necessary reserves in England, as well as the various special non-combatant services on both sides of the Channel, these forces had now increased enormously in number since the days when the First Contingent of 30,000 men arrived on Salisbury Plain. At the end of 1915 they amounted to 92,000 all ranks, and by the end of 1916 to 240,000, of whom 162,000 were infantry. The complicated business of dealing with all these troops on the far side of the Atlantic required the presence of a Canadian minister on the spot; and on October 31st, 1916, Sir George Perley had been gazetted Minister of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, an appointment which, as has been told already, led to the retirement of Sir Sam Hughes.

At the end of the year also Canada took over the complete management of her own troops from the time that they were enlisted until they came under the orders of G.H.Q. in France. Up to December 1916, the training of Canadian troops in England had been under the supervision of the general commanding the particular district in which one or another Canadian unit might happen to be. Now the British authorities agreed to the suggestion that Canada should assume the responsibility for training her own reinforcements, and a General Staff organization was created with head-quarters in London and with authority over all Canadian forces, combatant and non-combatant, in Great Britain. Major-Gen. Turner of the 2nd Division was recalled from France to take charge, being promoted to Lieut.-Gen., and under him, as Chief of the General Staff, the Canadian forces in Great Britain remained until the end of the war.

At the same time the whole system of reinforcing the units at the front was reorganized. The changes made affected more

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especially the infantry troops, who, of course, formed the bulk of the fighting forces. So far the method of recruiting in Canada after the first contingent left had been to raise individual battalions at various centres which, as far as possible, were sent to England as complete units. Once there, most of them were inevitably broken up to provide reinforcements for formations already at the front. This process naturally produced much friction and left many senior officers without employment. It was now entirely altered. By a series of orders all the infantry in England were reorganized into six reserve brigades consisting of 26 reserve battalions.[1] Each battalion became the reinforcing unit for certain definite battalions at the front. Early in 1917 the reorganization was carried further and the infantry forces in France, England, and Canada were arranged upon a territorial basis. Twelve territorial regiments were formed, the 1st and 2nd Central Ontario, Eastern Ontario, Western Ontario, 1st and 2nd Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia Regiments. Each of these had its reserve battalions, and regimental dépôts in England, and its front-line battalions in France; and as far as possible recruits from any one province in Canada reached one of the provincial battalions in France. The other branches of the service, artillery, engineers, cavalry, machine guns, &c., were organized on a somewhat similar basis with reserve units and dépôts in England supplying the units in France, though these had no territorial affiliations.

Standing outside the reserve organization in England was the 5th Division under Major-Gen. Garnet Hughes, late of the 1st Brigade. Its units were assembled and trained in England, and it remained there throughout 1917 waiting the chance to go to France as a single fighting force. Eventually in the spring of 1918 it had to be broken up to supply the pressing needs of the divisions already out, and only the 5th Divisional Artillery (Brig.-Gen. W. O'H. Dodds) reached the front line wearing the divisional patch.

By the beginning of 1917 also Canadian troops were undertaking some of the new functions which were the result of a highly technical war. Prominent among them was the work

[1] In 1918 the Reserve Brigades were disbanded and the number of reserve battalions reduced to fifteen. The two Quebec Regimental Dépôts were also amalgamated into one.

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of railway construction. Already in August 1915 a Canadian Railway Construction Corps, consisting of 500 picked men from the C.P.R., had proceeded to France. During 1916 and the early part of 1917, as the importance of rail transportation became recognized, these numbers were greatly increased. By April 1917 there were six Canadian Railway Troops Battalions working in the field, and by the end of June four more had been added. Under Sir Eric Geddes a Canadian, Major-Gen. J. W. Stewart, acted as Deputy Director-General of Transportation (Construction), having charge of all railway construction in France and being in command of the Canadian Railway Troops. From that time to the end of the war all the light railway construction on the British front was carried out by Canadian Railway Troops, as well as a good part of the work on the broad-gauge lines and in the operating branch of the railway services. It is almost impossible to over-estimate the importance of the railway services in France during 1917 and 1918, or to praise too highly the vigour with which light and heavy lines were pushed forward on the heels of the advancing infantry. Much of the work was done under fire and required a high degree of discipline in the workers. In the great retreat of 1918 some of the Canadian railway men were formed into fighting units and acquitted themselves well. Some of them were taken also in that year to build bridges for Sir Edmund Allenby in Palestine. By the time of the armistice the original 500 Canadian Railway Troops had grown to a force of 15,000, a total twice as great as the numbers supplied for the same work from the United Kingdom.

The beginning of 1917 saw another Canadian service in existence and doing extensive work. This was the Canadian Forestry Corps, formed in October 1916, under Major-Gen. A. McDougall. On February 15th, 1916, the first request for Canadian help in timber production in Great Britain was sent by the Colonial Secretary to Ottawa. He suggested that a battalion of lumbermen should be sent across. By May 13th, three months later, over 400 of the battalion, under Lieut.-Col. McDougall, had arrived and had delivered their first sawn lumber. Soon the whole battalion of 1,600 was on hand ; and by the end of 1916, the numbers of Canadian lumbermen had increased sufficiently to allow of the organization of the Canadian Forestry Corps and of the extension of their activities

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to France. By the middle of March 1917 there were 1,960 in France, and 3,760 in Great Britain. By the end of the year there were over 9,000 in France, and 8,000 in Great Britain. By the time of the armistice their total was almost 24,000. In Great Britain they were working in camps which were scattered from Inverness to Windsor Forest. In France, besides their work on the forests in the Army areas, they were engaged in sections as far distant as the borders of Switzerland and Spain. On both sides of the Channel they were making use of large numbers of prisoners of war and of various other classes of attached labour. At the time of the armistice over 70 per cent. of the total timber used by the Allied Armies on the Western Front was supplied by the Canadian Forestry Corps.

One other great branch of the Service which was largely carried on outside of the Corps was that of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. Connected with the troops in the field were the 4 casualty clearing stations and the 14 field ambulances, as well as the medical personnel attached to each fighting unit. But outside of these, under the general supervision of the Canadian Director of Medical Services in London, there had grown up by 1917 an immense organization of Canadian hospitals both in England and abroad. By June 1917 the personnel of medical officers, nursing sisters, and other ranks amounted to 14,132, an expansion in two years of almost 10,000. The service included in England 7 general hospitals, 8 convalescent and 5 special hospitals, with a bed capacity of over 13,000 cases ; and overseas, chiefly in France, 6 general and 4 stationary hospitals. The total bed capacity, including that of the field ambulances and casualty clearing stations, amounted to nearly 29,000. Three of the overseas hospitals were stationed at Salonica, where they had been since the end of 1915, and where they remained till August 1917. This splendid contribution to the work of healing was shared by medical men from all parts of Canada. The medical faculties of the universities especially played a big part ; Toronto, McGill, Laval, Queen's, and Dalhousie had fitted out complete hospitals largely managed by their own staff. Saskatchewan, St. Francis Xavier, and Western were to be added to the number during 1917. The Government of Ontario contributed the largest of the hospitals in England, at Orpington, Kent. Voluntary organizations also helped nobly. The Duchess of

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Connaught's Hospital at Taplow and several others were largely maintained by the Canadian Red Cross Society, whose organization of the supply of comforts spread over the whole Canadian Medical Service. The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire contributed an officers' hospital in London, and along with the Canadian War Contingent Association helped in the upkeep of another. Private individuals, Englishmen as well as Canadians, assisted by gifts of homes or of equipment. Gradually the policy was adopted of trying to look after all Canadian casualties in Canadian hospitals, and before the end of the war this had become practicable except in cases of emergency when a great battle was pouring back its streams of victims. By November 1918 the personnel of the Canadian Army Medical Corps amounted to 15,580. It was conducting 37 hospitals, besides field ambulances and C.C.S.'s; and two hospital ships were plying regularly to Canada from England. The bed capacity of its various units had reached the total of 34,000.

For the Canadian Corps itself, 1917 was to be a year of continuous victory. By training and by fighting, the Corps was moulded into a force which had no superior on the Western Front. The main elements in its composition on the eve of Vimy were as follows:

Corps Head-quarters.

G.O.C.—Lieut.-Gen. Hon. Sir Julian Byng (succeeded on June 9th by Sir Arthur Currie).
B.G.G.S.—Brig.-Gen. P. de B. Radcliffe.
D.A. and Q.M.G.—Brig.-Gen. G. J. Farmar.
G.O.C. Artillery—Brig.-Gen. E. W. B. Morrison.
G.O.C. Corps Heavy Artillery—Brig.-Gen. R. H. Massie.
G.O.C. Engineers—Brig.-Gen. W. B. Lindsay.
Corps Machine Gun Officer—Lieut.-Col. R. Brutinel.

1st Division.

G.O.C.—Major-Gen. A. W. Currie (succeeded in June by Major-Gen. A. C. Macdonell from the 7th Brigade).
Divisional Artillery—Brig.-Gen. H. C. Thacker.
Divisional Engineers—Lieut.-Col. A. Macphail.
1st Brigade—Brig.-Gen. W. A. Griesbach (from the 49th Edmonton Battalion).

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Battalions: 1st (West. Ont.), 2nd (East. Ont.), 3rd (1st Cent. Ont.), 4th (1st Cent. Ont.).

2nd Brigade—Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis.

Battalions: 5th (Sask.), 7th (B.C.), 8th (Man.), 10th (Alta.).

3rd Brigade—Brig.-Gen. G. S. Tuxford.

Battalions: 13th (1st Que.), 14th (1st Que.), 15th (1st Cent. Ont.), 16th (Man.).

2nd Division.

G.O.C.—Major-Gen. H. E. Burstall (from command of the Corps Artillery, December 1916).

Divisional Artillery—Brig.-Gen. H. A. Panet.

Divisional Engineers—Lieut.-Col. S. H. Osler.

4th Brigade—Brig.-Gen. R. Rennie.

Battalions: 18th (West. Ont.), 19th (1st Cent. Ont.), 20th (1st Cent. Ont.), 21st (East. Ont.).

5th Brigade—Brig.-Gen. A. H. Macdonell (succeeded in July by Brig.-Gen. J. M. Ross from the 29th Battalion).

Battalions: 22nd (2nd Que.), 24th (1st Que.), 25th (N.S.), 26th (N.B.).

6th Brigade—Brig.-Gen. H. D. B. Ketchen.

Battalions: 27th (Man.), 28th (Sask.), 29th (B.C.), 31st (Alta.).

3rd Division.

G.O.C.—Major-Gen. L. J. Lipsett.

Divisional Artillery—Brig.-Gen. J. H. Mitchell.

Divisional Engineers—Lieut.-Col. J. Houliston.

7th Brigade—Brig.-Gen. A. C. Macdonell (succeeded in June by Brig.-Gen. H. M. Dyer from the 5th Battalion).

Battalions: R.C.R. (N.S.), P.P.C.L.I. (East. Ont.), 42nd (1st Que.), 49th (Alta.).

8th Brigade—Brig.-Gen. J. H. Elmsley.

Battalions: 1st C.M.R. (Sask.), 2nd C.M.R. (B.C.), 4th C.M.R. (2nd Cent. Ont.), 5th C.M.R. (2nd Que.).

9th Brigade—Brig.-Gen. F. W. Hill.

Battalions: 43rd (Man.), 52nd (Man.), 58th (2nd Cent. Ont.), 60th (Que.).

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4th Division.

G.O.C.—Major-Gen. D. Watson.
Divisional Artillery—Brig.-Gen. C. H. Maclaren.
Divisional Engineers—Lieut.-Col. T. C. Irving.
10th Brigade—Brig.-Gen. E. Hilliam.
Battalions: 44th (Man.), 46th (Sask.), 47th (B.C.), 50th (Alta.).
11th Brigade—Brig.-Gen. V. W. Odlum.
Battalions: 54th (B.C.), 75th (1st Cent. Ont.), 87th (2nd Que.), 102nd (B.C.).
12th Brigade—Brig.-Gen. J. H. MacBrien.
Battalions: 38th (East. Ont.), 72nd (B.C.), 73rd (Que.), 78th (Man.).

It may be added that after Vimy the 73rd Battalion (Quebec) of the 12th Brigade was broken up and replaced by the 85th (Nova Scotia). At the same time the 60th (Quebec) of the 9th Brigade was replaced by the 116th (2nd Central Ontario).

Early in 1917 a reorganization of the artillery in France took place. In the new organization each Division had two brigades of Field Artillery, each brigade consisting of three 6-gun batteries of 18-pounders and one 6-gun battery of 4·5 inch Howitzers. The 4th Divisional Artillery, as such, was not formed until June 1917, when it was made up out of units from the 1st and 2nd.

The Canadian Corps was, of course, overwhelmingly in all ranks a body of non-professional soldiers—and it was proud of the fact. But it is worth noting that three of the four Divisional commanders in June were Regular officers, General Lipsett from the British Army, and Generals Burstall and Macdonell from the Canadian Permanent Force. The B.G.G.S. and the D.A. and Q.M.G. of the Corps also, as well as the G.S.O.1's of the Divisions, were British Regular officers, while several of the Infantry Brigade commanders and of the higher officers in the other branches were drawn from the Canadian Permanent Force.

SECTION 2. VIMY

The First Army front, to which the Canadian Corps moved from the Somme, had been comparatively quiet for a year, after having been the scene of some of the hardest fighting

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of the war. It covered what to France was one of her most vitally important districts, the mining and industrial area, which had Lille for its capital. Settled on the Vimy Ridge and across the coal-fields from Lens to La Bassée, the Germans held Lille firmly in their grasp and their position was a constant threat against the coal-fields that still remained in French hands. Twice in 1915 our Allies had concentrated their efforts on breaking through in this sector, only to be foiled each time by the stone-wall defence of the enemy, to whom the exploitation of the resources of the Lille area was equally important. In the spring of 1915 the French had attacked under what was then an unprecedented concentration of guns, and had managed to get possession of the ridge of Notre Dame de Lorette and of some of the villages to the south of it—Carency, La Targette, Neuville St. Vaast—after bitter fighting and heavy casualties; it was in this attack that the British had co-operated by their abortive offensive of May 9th. Again in the following autumn, on September 25th, British and French had attacked together. This was the tragic day of Loos on which the Fifteenth Division swarmed over Hill 70 north-west of Lens and into the Cité St. Auguste, only to find themselves out of reach of their supports. Hill 70, the northern key to Lens, passed back into German hands; and their hold on it was not again challenged until nearly two years later, in August 1917, when the Canadian Corps, in a better-prepared and better-supported assault than had been possible in 1915, seized and kept it. On the afternoon of our Loos attack in 1915 the French also had begun their offensive on the south-western side of Lens. Ten days' hard fighting gave them Souchez, and they pushed their way up the Vimy slopes but could not keep permanent possession of the commanding ground. Early in 1916 this Lens–Vimy front was taken over by the First British Army, and, except for a German attack in May 1916 which gained some ground that we did not attempt to recover, it had remained quiet while the great battles of Verdun and the Somme were raging farther south.

Into this area the Canadian Corps moved in October 1916. As its Divisions came up, it took over the line facing Vimy Ridge and extending for a short distance north across the Souchez River; and as winter came on the front became alive

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at once with organized trench raids and with busy preparations for a great attack to take place next spring.

To the north-east of the Canadian line lay Lens in the midst of a landscape of coal-mines and slag-heaps, of clustering, thickly-built mining suburbs called *cités*, and of innumerable railway-tracks. These little *cités* were to be the scene of some of the hardest fighting that the Corps ever experienced, but in the spring of 1917 the British line was still only on the fringe of the district, curving round from Loos to Souchez. Lens is bordered on the south by the Souchez River and by the canal which connects it with Douai. Where the Souchez cut the two opposing front lines it ran through a narrow valley, the commanding ground on both sides of which was then in German hands—the Bois en Hache to the north and the elevation in the Givenchy Wood to the south which we called the 'Pimple'.. South of the Pimple lies a depression connecting the villages of Souchez and Givenchy en Gohelle, and immediately south of this again rises up the line of the Vimy Ridge, running away to the south-east for some four miles until it merges gradually in the lower levels of the Scarpe valley in front of Arras. The Ridge, named after the village of Vimy behind it, is not of great height (being on an average about 400 feet above the sea), but it is the dominating feature of the whole area. Its two highest points, Hills 145 and 140 on either side of the Arras–Lens road, gave the Germans observation over all the country to the west and south-west. We could not make a move without its being plainly visible to them. The peculiar configuration of the slopes on each side of the Ridge had also proved useful to the enemy. On the western face it rises up gradually over open ground to a hardly distinguishable crest line. But the eastern side falls away sharply to the plain beyond, and these steep reverse slopes in front of Vimy were thickly wooded. Here the Germans were invisible except to aeroplane observation, and the woods and slope combined gave excellent cover to their guns.

During the period of their occupation the Germans had covered the ridge with an elaborate maze of trench lines and strong points. Underground they had a system of deep dug-outs and tunnels which might be expected to give protection against the severest artillery bombardment, and out of which

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hundreds of prisoners were 'mopped up' on April 9th. Several lines of defence could be distinguished. First of all on the forward slopes lay the front and support lines connected up by innumerable communication trenches. Farther back, at distances varying from 500 to 1,000 yards, ran the Swischen Stellung with its continuations in either direction, and behind the crest ran still more trenches, though they formed no continuous line. To protect the guns in Farbus a new double line of wire and trench from Hill 140 to Commandant's House was being built in the months immediately before our attack. Running diagonally across the ridge behind and parallel to the Arras–Lens road was the strong Thelus–Vimy–Lens line, designed to cover Thelus and Vimy, if the northern part of the ridge should fall, and connecting up with the Lens fortifications farther back; while, besides all these trench lines, localities like Thelus, La Folie Farm, and the École Commune had been turned into fortresses of immense strength.

Behind the ridge, at a distance of about four miles, ran another defensive system, the Oppy–Méricourt line, which curved round at the north past Avion until it joined up with the Lens defences. Beyond all these lines, in view of the remote possibility of the loss of the whole Vimy–Lens area, the industrious enemy were already working on a line which was to become famous in 1918 as the Drocourt–Quéant Switch. The Canadian Intelligence service were discussing the Drocourt–Quéant line as a future objective in the event of unexpected German withdrawals, but it remained out of range for this year, and our 1917 advance halted in front of the intermediate Oppy–Méricourt system.

After the British advance on the Somme in 1916, Sir Douglas Haig had planned to reap the fruits of his hard fighting there by pinching out the salient in the German line left in front of Arras. This was to be the preliminary task of the British forces in 1917, after which their main energies were to be devoted to Flanders and the coast. The succession of General Nivelle to the French Command in place of General Joffre, however, entailed a radical change in the Allied plans. Instead of the British troops resuming active operations against the Arras–Serre salient before the end of February, they were called upon to relieve the French on a wide front south of the Somme and to postpone their big attack. The Germans were

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thereby enabled to carry out a skilful retreat to the new 'Hindenburg line', which they had just completed to cover St. Quentin and Cambrai, and which was protected against prompt attack by the belt of devastated country which separated it from the battle area of the Somme. Accordingly, it was necessary to devise a new plan, in which the operations in front of Arras, where the Germans had not retreated out of reach of Allied preparations, assumed a greater importance. Here the British were to assault the northern pivot of the Hindenburg line, while the French attacked the southern end. The British share in this combined offensive began with the brilliant victory of April 9th, the most successful day's fighting that British armies had yet met with on the Western Front; but the French effort a week later proved a bitter disappointment and fell far short of its objectives. To help his allies Sir Douglas Haig was compelled to keep hammering away in front of Arras, where, but for the help thus given to the French at a critical moment, the advance made would not have justified the cost, and the fighting was prolonged into May.

It was as a part of this first British offensive of 1917 that the Canadians overran the Vimy Ridge on April 9th, and during the next few weeks exploited their success, until by May 4th they had made a maximum advance on the right through Fresnoy of six miles. In the general British operation the function of the First Army (of which the Canadian Corps formed the right Corps) was to form a defensive flank for the main advance of the Third Army to the south of it in front of Arras. This involved the wresting of the Vimy Ridge from the enemy, who as long as they remained on commanding ground here, could seriously hamper any movement of the Third Army farther south. The Ridge, therefore, was to form the pivot of the whole British advance, as it already protected the pivot of the new German defence lines. Standing where it did, it covered the junction of the lines from the sea-coast to Lens with the new Hindenburg system. So long as the enemy maintained their hold here, they could, as they were actually doing, withdraw safely to the Hindenburg line farther south, without compromising their security in the vital industrial districts behind Lens. On the other hand, if once the high ground passed into our hands, we should threaten Lens, and all the plain towards Douai. It was as important,

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therefore, for us to drive the enemy off the ridge as it was for them to hold it, and no higher compliment could have been paid to the Canadians than to put them in charge of this important task.

Plans for the capture of the ridge were begun in December 1916. At first it was proposed to divide the operation between two Corps, but about the middle of January the whole of it was assigned to the Canadian Corps, which proceeded to draw up plans for making good the far side of the Ridge from Farbus Wood to the Pimple. It was a lengthy front, about 7,000 yards, and all four Divisions had to take their share, so that the operation became by far the largest which the Corps had ever attempted. By gradual stages, as Corps boundaries were adjusted, each Division came into the line on the front assigned to it (the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th in the order named from south to north) and settled down to carry out the necessary preparations. Objectives were fixed and co-ordinated with those of the XVIIth Corps to the south; the required artillery came into position and its programmes were worked out; and at the same time, the immense amount of preliminary construction required in and behind the front line proceeded apace.

The attack on Vimy Ridge was more thoroughly organized than any other British offensive up to this date. Experience on the Somme had taught many lessons, and the Canadians had not had their long hammering at Regina Trench for nothing. Above all, the Somme had taught the necessity of thorough artillery preparation against strong enemy positions and of close liaison between infantry and gunners. The sudden and surprising French successes at Verdun in November and December 1916 had also been taken to heart. Among the officers sent by G.H.Q. to visit Verdun and study the French operations on the spot had been Major-Gen. Currie of the 1st Canadian Division. One of the points which the French emphasized most was minute rehearsal of the attack by all arms in conjunction over ground similar to that of the objective; and now the Canadian brigades behind the line went over every step in the attack until each man knew exactly what he was to do and where he was to go. The Canadians had come into the battle of the Somme after the first stage, the set-piece attack, was over, and a good many of their

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assaults there had suffered from lack of preparation; they were determined that this should not be the case in 1917. At the same time everything that training could do was done to build up the highest possible morale in the troops. This was another point of which the importance had been emphasized, both by the rapid advances at Verdun and by the long gruelling on the Somme. At the end of the winter's training the whole Corps went into battle, a body of shock troops on a large scale.

Along the front itself gun-pits and trenches were dug and improved, battle head-quarters were fitted up and connected with one another by buried cable, dumps of ammunition and engineer material were established, and everything was put in readiness for a great push forward. On each divisional front the engineers constructed long tunnels where troops could be assembled and staff work be carried on during battle out of reach of enemy shelling or observation. Behind the line roads and light railways were laid down. At suitable spots Special Companies of Royal Engineers installed the latest instruments of destruction, the 4-inch Stokes mortars and the new projectors which could send a cloud of gas drums up to a range of 1,200 yards into the enemy line.

Nor was the enemy left alone meanwhile. The German front line was harassed by continual mining operations and repeated trench raids. The 4th Division especially carried out a series of raids on the left, culminating in a great gas raid on March 1st, which was meant to be more or less a rehearsal of the main assault. It failed chiefly through having too broad a stretch of No Man's Land to cross, but every raid, big or small, helped to reduce the enemy's morale. In fact, the Germans, in the face of the constant provocation of our raids and of the obvious work going on under their eyes, remained curiously passive. There was little of the artillery punishment which might have been expected from them. This lack of any offensive attitude on their part was uncanny, says the 4th Division report. Either they intended to give up the position without fighting or thought it so impregnable that no preparations against it need be taken seriously.

The general direction of the Ridge was from south-east to north-west, so that the Divisions on the right had the farthest to go before they reached its eastern slopes. Objectives were arranged accordingly. The maze of trenches which formed

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the German front and support lines, though rendered more difficult to negotiate by a series of mine craters along the edge, was exposed to view and to shell-fire, and was not expected to give much trouble by the time that our guns had finished with it. The first objective therefore, the Black Line, was fixed along trenches at an average of 800 yards behind. It ran on the front of the 1st and 2nd Divisions along the Zwolfer Weg and the Swischen Stellung, reaching the crest of the Ridge at the 3rd Division's front, and cutting across Hill 145 on that of the 4th Division. The second objective, the Red Line, 500 yards or more farther on, ran still on the forward slope of the Ridge in front of Thelus across the front of the two right Divisions, cutting down to the ravine of the Bois de Bonval on the right flank of the 3rd, and thence continuing within the edge of the Bois de la Folie along the eastern side of the Ridge, and at the extreme left looking down over the village of Givenchy. The Red Line formed the final objective for the 3rd and 4th Divisions; but beyond it the 1st and 2nd were to go on 1,000 yards farther to the Blue Line beyond Thelus and Hill 140, and then still farther to the Brown Line in Farbus Wood and the Bois de la Ville, within which were the all-important German gun positions.

The longest advance of all fell to the 1st Division on the right, which had to go over two miles before it reached the Brown Line in Farbus Wood. This, on an initial frontage of 1,900 yards, was a very considerable task for three brigades; and the divisional area was accordingly narrowed as the advance proceeded until on the Brown Line it amounted to about 750 yards. As the whole advance was under observation from Hill 140 to the north, this position was to be blinded by smoke on zero day.

The 2nd Division started on a front somewhat narrower than that of the 1st, about 1,400 yards. But this expanded as it advanced until at the end, facing north-east, the Division would cover about 2,300 yards. To assist in covering all this ground a British brigade, the 13th from the Fifth Division, was lent to the Division to come in at the final stages of the advance. One of the two commanding positions on the Vimy Ridge was included in the 2nd Division's objective, that of Thelus, and Hill 140 above it. Protected by the Thelus–Vimy line of trench, this stronghold was expected to prove trouble-

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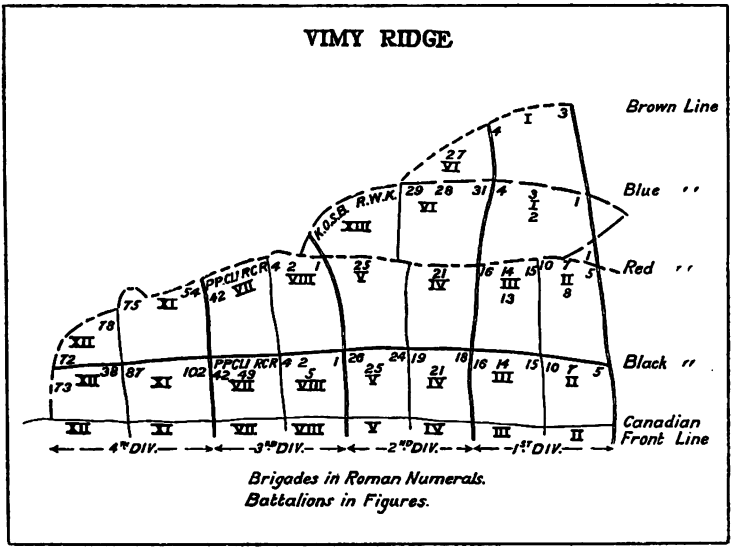
some. Special attention was devoted to it by the guns before the day of attack, and for the assault itself eight tanks were assigned to the Division. They were to help to mop up Thelus and to break down the line of wire protecting the gun positions in the woods.

Both the 1st and 2nd Divisions would use up all their available infantry in their long advance; and they had no reserves at hand. It was therefore necessary not only to attack but to hold the ground won with the same troops.



To the north of the 2nd Division was the 3rd on a frontage of 1,500 yards. Its initial task was complicated by the unusually thick line of mine craters which it would have to cross at the start. After that, besides the trench lines, it had the long Schwaben tunnel to deal with, and farther back the strong points formed by La Folie farm and the École Commune. At the end of its advance on the right flank lay the Bois de Bonval in the ravine which jutted into the Ridge from the east; as this was a distinct tactical feature, the 3rd Division was made responsible for the whole of it.

The 4th Division on the north on a front of 2,000 yards was confronted by the double task of taking the second of the two dominating features of the Ridge—Hill 145—and of forming a left flank to the whole advance. Hill 145 was covered by

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a strong trench system and promised to offer a sufficiently obstinate defence in itself. The attack on it was complicated by the fact that from the Pimple to the north the enemy could enfilade the whole Divisional advance. To remove any danger from this source the Division had wished to include the Pimple in the day's objectives. But higher authority decided to leave it for a later occasion. To neutralize its influence it was to receive a bombardment of gas and smoke on zero morning in addition to the preliminary pounding before zero which, it was hoped, would destroy most of its lurking machine guns.

As the possession of the Ridge gave such advantages to either side, counter-attacks might be expected, and a detailed scheme of consolidation was prepared. Three lines of resistance were to be established as soon as the objectives had been gained, an outpost line along the woods at the foot of the Ridge, a front line at the eastern edge of the Ridge, and a main line running just west of the crest. The necessary strong points in these lines were determined beforehand, and special parties of machine gunners and engineers were told off to make for them immediately in rear of the attacking troops.

The dispositions made by the four Divisions for reaching the various objectives are shown on the diagram given above.

The success of all these detailed plans depended, above all, on the thoroughness with which the enemy defences of trench and wire could be destroyed before the day of attack. For this work an immense concentration of guns of all calibres was assembled under Brig.-Gen. Morrison, the Corps Artillery Commander. The number in action amounted altogether to 848, of which 480 were 18-pounders, 140 were 4·5-inch howitzers, and the remainder belonged to the various heavier calibres up to 15 inches. Each Division had its share of the Field Artillery under Divisional control. The heavier guns were divided into three groups assigned to counter-battery work, and four double-groups assigned to trench destruction work. Of the latter one double-group was attached to each Division, so that the process of blowing up trenches and cutting wire, which interested the infantry more than any one else, could be carried on in close connexion with them.

A regular artillery programme was carried out for the three weeks leading up to zero day. For two weeks, Z–20 to Z–7

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days, a preliminary bombardment was carried on. This was intensified during the final week, Z–6 to Z days, when the whole available artillery came into action as needed. Trench mortars assisted in the work and the machine guns kept up an intermittent fire to prevent the enemy repairing what had been destroyed. Then at last at zero the barrage opened.

The barrage was ordered in four lines. Two-thirds of the 18-pounders, a gun for every 30 yards, provided the rolling barrage which moved immediately in front of the infantry. The remainder of the 18-pounders and 4·5's rested on definite trenches about 200 yards in front until the rolling barrage reached them, when they lifted to a further line. Beyond these again the heavies put down two more lines of high explosives. In addition, all available machine guns, except a few mobile batteries assigned to go forward with the infantry, provided a barrage of bullets which thickened up that of the shells. Over each intermediate objective, to give the infantry time to re-form, the protecting curtain remained stationary for a fixed period and then moved on. The whole operation was timed so that the infantry should reach the Brown Line at 7 hours 48 minutes after zero.

A further problem in the work of the artillery was provided by the length of the advance on the right. Here, beyond the Blue Line, the infantry would be out of range of most of the 18-pounders. To cover the further advance silent batteries were sited far forward within a few hundred yards of the front line. They fired not a shot during the preparation for the battle, and their sole function was to come into action at the set time when the 1st and 6th Brigades would push off for the final stage of the attack.

The work of the guns was well done, and half the battle was won before the infantry went over the top. When our troops advanced they found that trenches had been pounded to pieces and of the wire only tangled masses of débris remained. The German troops were in an almost equal state of collapse ; few of them had much fight left in them. Prisoners stated that the only way in which they had been able to get up rations was for each relief to bring enough food when it came for its tour in the line. The fact that we collected over 3,000 prisoners on the first day speaks volumes. The ordinary infantry were thoroughly cowed and surrendered readily. Only small groups

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of machine gunners held out with any determination. The whole day's work was a triumph for our artillery over the best that the enemy engineers could do in defensive construction.

The attack had originally been set for Easter Sunday, April 8th, but was postponed till Monday. Sunday had been a glorious spring day, but Monday dawned with sky overcast, and within half an hour after zero a storm of sleet and snow blew up which continued with some intermissions for most of the day. The wind in our back helped to blind the defenders, but it made the going very heavy for our troops over the expanse of shell holes into which the guns had turned the whole ridge. But on that day, for which they had been preparing for three months, it took more than weather conditions to stop their impetuous attack.

The story of the battle from zero onwards falls naturally into two parts. First comes the complete success achieved by the three right Divisions, who moved forward to their objectives according to time table with almost mechanical precision. The fortunes of the 4th Division were different; in front of Hill 145 it met with a serious check, and here the situation was not cleared up nor were both slopes of the ridge in our hands until the next day, when fresh troops had to be thrown in.

On the front of the 1st Division the 2nd and 3rd Brigades attacked as far as the Red Line, after which the 1st Brigade went through them and continued as far as the Brown Line. Both the 2nd and 3rd attacked with three battalions in the front line and one in reserve. This gave a battalion frontage of about 300 yards. At zero hour they started off, the 5th, 7th, 10th, 15th, 14th, and 16th in the order named from right to left. Considerable opposition was met at the very start while passing the craters and then on the left in clearing the Eisener Kreuz Weg. For a time the situation on the 3rd Brigade front was uncertain, but the leading companies were on the Black Line in time, and here after 40 minutes' wait the rear companies leapfrogged and led the way towards the Red Line, the Swischen Stellung. Here again there was 'scrapping', but not enough to hold up the advance. At the appointed time, 9.30, the 1st Brigade was up and its front battalions, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, were ready to go through to the third objective, the Blue Line, Island Traverse Trench.

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This was reached with even less trouble than the first two lines; and the 1st Battalion being now pinched out by the narrowing frontage, the 2nd and 3rd continued their victorious progress to the edge of Farbus Wood. Strong patrols pushed on forward as far as the railway which was made the outpost line for the night. Six hundred yards beyond it lay the village of Willerval, and the Corps Cavalry, the Canadian Light Horse, sent out two patrols, who tried to enter it but were beaten off by machine guns. So ended a great day's work by the veteran Division of the Corps. Its men had advanced more than two miles across a strong trench system and taken about 1,300 prisoners.

The 2nd Division advanced against its first two objectives with the 4th and 5th Brigades. They attacked on a slightly different formation from that adopted by the 1st Division. Two battalions of each, the 18th and 19th, the 24th and 26th, were to take the Black Line; to the Red Line the advance was continued by the 21st and 25th, while the mopping up was done by the fourth battalion of each brigade, the 20th and 22nd. So far as the infantry were concerned, this whole programme was carried out like clockwork. The tanks were all ditched and out of action before the Black Line was reached, so that the success of the day was the work of the infantry alone. On the way to the Black Line the 19th, moving along Balloon Trench, met with some serious opposition, but it was quickly dispersed. Again on the 5th Brigade front just in front of the Red Line there was a sharp tussle about an enemy position known as the Dump, which finally surrendered with over 250 prisoners. But at 9.30 the 6th and Thirteenth (British) Brigades coming from behind were already in position on the Red Line facing what was expected to be the chief task of the day—Thelus and Hill 140—and at 9.35 they ' kicked off '.

For some time the progress of the 31st and 28th Battalions going through Thelus was doubtful, but in the end they were on the Blue Line in time along with the battalions of the Thirteenth Brigade to the left. There now remained only a small triangle of ground stretching down towards the Bois de la Ville, and the 27th Battalion was quickly over it. The 6th Brigade thereupon, during the afternoon and evening, pushed its patrols through the woods towards the railway, but found that the enemy were making a stand there. Throughout

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the whole advance the only confusion which had developed was on the left, where for some time there was difficulty in getting into touch with the 3rd Division about the Bois de Bonval, but this was cleared up by evening.

The 3rd Division, which had only two lines of objective to take, was able to carry out its task with two of its brigades, the 7th and 8th, keeping the 9th in reserve. Both brigades advanced with three battalions in the front line, the 1st, 2nd, and 4th C.M.R. covering the 8th's front, the R.C.R., P.P.C.L.I., and 42nd that of the 7th, while the remaining battalions of each followed in support and acted as moppers up. As with the two Divisions to the south, so with the 3rd, everything went well so far as its own front was concerned. The chief trouble came from Hill 145 on the left, where the failure of the 4th Division to keep up in line left some of the German machine guns free to devote themselves to the 7th Brigade on the south. The 42nd suffered heavily from this fire, and their task was increased by the necessity of forming a long flank facing the north to cover the advance until the 4th Division should come up. But this did not stop them from continuing to the final objectives in time with the rest of the Division. The Red Line was reached and patrols pushed through the woods toward the Vimy–Angres line of trenches just beyond. Here the enemy were still holding on, and the Division settled down to consolidation.

Thus by the early afternoon the bulk of the ridge, including the important localities of Hill 140 and Thelus, was in our hands. For the remainder of the day it swarmed with thousands of men carrying on the work of 'consolidation'. Our front and support lines were established, new communication trenches improved and connected with the old front line, strong points constructed and garrisoned, roads and tracks hastily pushed forward, and everything was put in shape to prepare for any possible counter-attacks. Behind the ridge the field guns moved up to points from which they could cover the new lines; and meanwhile, all day long, prisoners were streaming back as enemy dug-outs were investigated and cleared.

The 4th Division, at the northern end of the ridge, had least success. Of the two parts into which its task fell Hill 145 had been entrusted to the 11th Brigade, and the forming of

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a defensive flank facing north-east and looking down over Givenchy to the 12th. The 10th remained in reserve, being earmarked for the assault on the Pimple, which was to follow as soon as the main line of the Ridge was ours. Each of the two attacking brigades had an extra battalion added to it; the 11th had the 85th Nova Scotia Battalion, a newly arrived unit which received its baptism of fire on the afternoon of the attack, and the 12th had the 46th from the 10th Brigade.

The attack pushed off at 5.30, with that of the other units of the Corps, and the 12th Brigade on the left succeeded in making most of its objectives. By 6.20 the 38th Battalion, which had to carry the Black Line, reported all objectives taken after some stiff fighting. Their progress had been materially assisted by the work of Captain T. W. MacDowell and two of his runners. He first of all put out of action two machine guns that were holding up the advance, and then went on and captured 2 officers and 75 men in an enemy dug-out, a daring exploit which won for him one of the four V.C.'s gained on this memorable day. At the same time the 72nd made good the position on the left flank, though they suffered severely from machine guns. The 78th, which had been told off to push on to the Red Line, then went through the 38th and immediately ran into severe fighting. The trenches in front and the positions on the Pimple poured bullets into the advancing waves, and though some of the men succeeded in reaching the final line, they reached it only to be killed. Their dead bodies were found when the brigade advanced again later, and for that day the 78th had to settle down about half-way to the Red Line.

The hard fighting beyond the Black Line on the front of the 12th Brigade was partly due to the failure of the 11th to keep up in line. As the first waves of its attacking battalions advanced they found a pocket of the enemy still active in the front line. Opposite Black Trench the 87th were stopped dead and suffered heavy casualties. Some of the troops destined for the Red Line were not able to leave their assembly positions. Meanwhile both flanks of the brigade pushed on as far as the Black Line. But the enemy still held out in the centre, and during the afternoon it became necessary to repeat the whole attack in order to clear up the situation. Artillery preparation was impossible because there were elements of the

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Brigade on all sides of the obstinate enemy posts, but a fresh battalion, the 85th, was brought up and in a brilliant attack they rushed the enemy's trenches without the help of the guns. Two companies of the 46th advanced with them and restored touch with the 12th Brigade, which had been lost during the confusion of the morning. This tangle being disposed of, the Brigade proceeded with its attack on Hill 145 All that night fighting went on, and before morning of the 10th General Odlum's men had pushed their way over the summit of the hill.

The Red Line, however, still remained to be taken. By this time the 11th Brigade was too exhausted and its units too broken up to be capable of further concerted effort. On the afternoon of the 10th, therefore, the 50th and 44th Battalions from the 10th Brigade were brought up. Assaulting at 3.15 they succeeded in pushing forward to the foot of the hill and made good practically the whole remaining part of the 4th Division's objectives.

On the bulk of the Corps front the three days following the great attack were comparatively quiet. Patrols continued to test the enemy's strength, but found them still holding firmly along the foot of the ridge. The bad weather continued and was a serious handicap to any forward movement. But not a single counter-attack developed. On the 10th a large body of about 5,000 of the enemy were seen advancing north of Willerval. Every gun that could reach them was switched on to them, they broke up in disorder, and thenceforward the Canadian hold on the ridge was never threatened. The German guns began to shell it heavily and caused a good many casualties. But, when our own heavies were not far enough up to take on some of these batteries, the captured enemy guns on the east side of the ridge were turned against them, and every day the Corps Intelligence Report was able to include the cheerful news that so many 5·9's and so many 8-inches had been in action against their late owners.

The main event of these days was the capture of the Pimple by the 10th Brigade. This had been arranged to take place as soon as possible after the taking of the Ridge, and the attack was brought off just before dawn on the 12th. The 10th Brigade was represented by three of its battalions, the 44th, 50th, and 46th. Across the Souchez at the same time

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the Twenty-fourth Division were assaulting the Bois en Hache. It had been raining or snowing pretty regularly since the 9th and conditions were trying in the extreme. The muddy and slippery ground was almost impassable, and the advance had to be made in a bitter gale of snow and wind. Had it not been that the wind was behind them the men could hardly have covered the ground at all, and, as it was, they were barely able to keep up with the barrage moving at 20 yards a minute. But, as on the 9th, the storm turned out to be in our favour. It totally blinded the enemy, and our men were on them before they were ready. A fierce hand-to-hand fight followed, for Prussian Guards were holding the Pimple, but by 9 o'clock all objectives had been won and the Pimple was incorporated into the Canadian line. The 10th Brigade could well afford to be proud of its part in the story of Vimy. Its two attacks on the 9th and 12th were second to none among the fine achievements of those days.

It will be remembered that the Canadian fighting at Vimy was not an isolated victory. Equal success had been attained on other parts of the British front, the German lines had been broken through to a depth of four miles astride the Scarpe, and 13,000 prisoners in all had been taken. In consequence an immediate further retreat became an urgent necessity for the Germans, and opposite Vimy they were compelled to move farthest back. The capture of the Ridge had made untenable a wide stretch of country to the eastward, while counter-attack was far more difficult at this point than on the new British positions to the south.

Accordingly, on April 13th, the whole Corps began to move forward once more. Fires and explosions behind the German line had been announcing an enemy retirement, and all divisions were ordered to prepare for the next attack on the general line of the railway and the Vimy–Angres trench. But on the 13th our patrols found a set-piece attack unnecessary. The 1st Division made its way through Willerval. The 2nd Division, keeping up the line to the north, crossed the railway and pushed patrols to the Mt. Foret Quarries. To the left of it the 3rd Division occupied Vimy and Petit Vimy, and its patrols were far across the open country. On the north the 4th Division made its way through Givenchy and the Vimy–Angres line; by night its outposts were at the eastern

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end of the Bois d'Hirondelle, and here during the night it was relieved by the Fifth (British) Division. Everywhere evidence was found of a hasty retreat. Fires were still burning in dug-outs, equipment was thrown about in disorder, and prisoners kept turning up in all sorts of unexpected places.

On the 14th the advance continued with little opposition. It had become almost a peace-time advance-guard operation. The enemy had now definitely retired to their next line of defence, the well-wired Oppy–Méricourt line running in front of the villages of Oppy, Fresnoy, Acheville, Méricourt, and then swinging westward to Avion and La Coulotte. The general result of the 14th was to bring our patrols into touch with this line. Everywhere they found it too strongly occupied to be attacked without artillery preparation, and for the time the infantry settled down in their new positions until the guns could come up. On both flanks the advance had kept touch with that of the Canadians. To the south the troops of the XIIIth Corps were approaching Oppy and Gavrelle, while on the north the IInd Corps had taken Liévin and were up with us along the Souchez.

The battle of Vimy Ridge may thus be said to have concluded with the night of the 14th. By that time the maximum of exploitation had been reached. Our front line was a mile and a half north-east of the Ridge which had been the limit of our objectives on the 9th ; and there was nothing between us and the next main obstacle. In five days an unprecedented advance had been made. Nothing that had been accomplished on the Somme could be compared with this splendid success. On a frontage of 6,000 yards (3½ miles) the Corps had overrun a strongly entrenched area, one of the enemy's most cherished strongholds, starting from lines that were entirely dominated by the enemy and reaching their guns at a single bound on the first day. Over 4,000 prisoners had been taken and 40 guns of all calibres. So completely had the whole defence system of the Germans been broken up that they had been compelled to evacuate without fighting their lines immediately to the rear of the Ridge. This, combined with the simultaneous advance of British Divisions on our left directly in front of Lens, threatened that all-important centre. Well might Vimy be inscribed in the history of the Corps as among the greatest of all its achievements.

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The next step, if the offensive was to be continued on this front, was to attack the Oppy–Méricourt–Avion line. This was not in the original British programme which contemplated transferring the conflict to the Flanders area. But, as the French offensive in Champagne which began on April 16th was not meeting with the expected success, the First and Third Armies were ordered to continue their attacks. On the Canadian front the points where we were in closest contact with the enemy were at the two flanks where the 1st Division on the south was facing Arleux and the Fifth (British) Division on the north was facing La Coulotte. Against these two objectives therefore the next operations were directed.

On April 23rd, the troops of the Fifth Division tried to take La Coulotte. Their advance was only partly successful and they were unable to maintain the ground gained. By night they were all back in their original trenches at this point, and next day the 4th Canadian Division relieved them, coming back into the line again with a front from the Vimy–Lens Railway to the Souchez. The La Coulotte attack showed that the enemy were prepared to resist stoutly now that they were back dangerously close to Lens, and the 4th Division suspended operations for the time while the scene of activity shifted farther to the south.

The village of Arleux lay immediately to the west of Fresnoy in front of the main Oppy–Méricourt line. It was covered by a trench line called the Arleux Loop, which ran out from in front of Oppy in a curve round the west of the village, rejoining the main line just south of Acheville. Before the main line could be assaulted here this Loop must be broken, and the 1st Division, on whose front it lay, was ordered to take the task in hand as soon as the guns could come up and complete the preliminary destructive work. Originally it was intended that Arleux, Fresnoy, and Acheville should be assaulted together as a part of the same operation which was to have taken La Coulotte. But the bad weather and the abominable roads over the Vimy Ridge delayed preparations, and the attack did not take place till the 28th.

The main attack was entrusted to the battalions of the 2nd Brigade with the 16th Battalion added to help them. They were to break through the Arleux Loop and establish themselves on the far side of the village facing the main line

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in front of Fresnoy. On their right the XIIIth Corps were advancing with them, and on their left the 5th Brigade was to make good the line of the Arleux–Méricourt road. Farther north the 3rd Division was to establish a protective flank to the whole movement; while, in order to prevent the enemy from concentrating on the real point of penetration, our artillery made a demonstration all along the front.

The 2nd Brigade attacked with the 8th, 10th, and 5th Battalions in the line from right to left, and the 7th and 16th in support to do the mopping up. They had hard fighting all the way, for the Germans had recovered from their collapse of April 9th and disputed every step of the advance. The wire-cutting by our artillery had not been completely satisfactory and the infantry found some trouble in getting through the gaps. Beyond the trench they had to push through the ruins of the village strengthened by concrete and full of machine guns. But, in spite of every difficulty, the whole advance was carried out according to schedule, and within three hours all objectives were reported taken. The chief trouble occurred on the left flank, where the 25th Battalion of the 5th Brigade made some mistake as to the sunken road which was to be their objective and left the 5th Battalion's flank exposed. Enemy guns also from the north-east punished the new line severely, and all the afternoon men could be seen trickling forward on the left flank. A counter-attack was obviously being organized, and it came at 8.30 at night on the front of the 5th but was beaten off successfully. This day's fighting cost the battalions engaged over 1,000 casualties and netted over 300 prisoners, a sufficient indication of its severity.

We were now in a position to assault the main Oppy–Méricourt line. On May 3rd the British Armies made another general attack along the whole front from Arras northward. The Canadian share in this was to capture Fresnoy and the trenches north of it up to the junction of the main line with the Arleux Loop. Once more the chief share in the task fell to the 1st Division, whose 1st Brigade was entrusted with the taking of Fresnoy and the woods north and south of the village. North of it the 6th Brigade of the 2nd Division was to mop up the remainder of the Arleux Loop and the front and support trenches of the main Oppy–Méricourt line. The 1st Brigade

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attacked with the 3rd (less two companies), the 2nd, and the 1st Battalions, while the 6th used the 27th and 31st.

Fresnoy lay at the end of a long valley and the position to be taken was dominated by enemy guns and machine guns on the heights to the north-east. The whole attack therefore came under heavy punishment; and, as was learnt later, resistance was stiffened by the presence of large bodies of enemy troops who were assembling for a counter-attack when our barrage fell on them at 3.45 in the morning. The enemy were evidently very alert. Twice in the night before zero their barrage was turned suddenly on to the troops of the 1st Brigade as they were forming up, and when the attack did come their barrage was down within a minute of ours. In the face of such conditions the Brigade fought its way through the village and accomplished its thousand-yard advance. To add to its difficulties it found its right flank entirely in the air and only a small body of the 6th Brigade up with it on the left. Nothing daunted, it put in its reserves on the right and extended beyond its proper boundary until it had found touch with the British troops. Having thus accomplished more than it had been set to do it spent the rest of the day in beating off two violent counter-attacks.

The 6th Brigade meanwhile had run into a devastating storm of shells and bullets. Those who managed to make their way through it came up against wire that was still largely intact. In the darkness the men had trouble in finding the gaps and the barrage got ahead of them. Only a few could pass through at a time, and this prevented a simultaneous attack in strength. The result was that only one company, the right company, of the 27th made its objective. That it did so was due to the splendid heroism of one of its subalterns, Lieutenant R. J. Combe. The only survivors of the company when it reached the Oppy–Méricourt line were Combe and five men. With these he forced his way into the trench and began to bomb the enemy back. As reinforcements came up he took charge of them, fought his way down the trench, and gained touch with the 1st Battalion. He was killed while superintending the consolidation of the position, but undoubtedly saved the situation and well deserved the Victoria Cross which was granted after his death.

The left company of the 27th, and the 31st, were not able to

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go so far. They cleared most of the remainder of the Arleux Loop but the tangle of trenches where it joined the main line proved impregnable, and after fighting all day the Brigade had to content itself with a line facing north-east running back from the right company of the 27th to the old front. Next day the 28th and 29th were put in to complete the task. Bombing parties on each flank tried to work down the German trenches, but the trench junction still defied us and had to be left in enemy hands.

The Corps to the south now took over the Fresnoy front and the 1st Division, after having been in action steadily since April 9th and having borne the brunt of the recent fighting, went back to rest. Their last gain was not to prove permanent. At 4 a.m., May 8th, the Germans attacked Fresnoy in force. The Fifth Division who were holding it were driven in, and the right flank of the 2nd was also forced back. A counter-attack by the 5th Canadian Brigade in conjunction with the British troops to recover the lost ground was ordered on that night, at 2 a.m. on May 9th, but it failed owing to misunderstanding by the attacking companies as to the zero hour. Fresnoy remained German and our line was finally established to the east of Arleux and thence northward across the Arleux Loop.

At this point the brilliant share of the Canadian Corps in the Battles of Arras came to an end. Well might the Corps be proud of this its greatest achievement to date. Including the village of Fresnoy it had made a maximum advance inside the month of 10,373 yards (6 miles). It had defeated a superior number of German divisions and broken through a series of extremely strong trench lines. The best comment on these achievements is contained in the message addressed by Sir Julian Byng to his troops: 'The brilliant operations during the last month, culminating in the capture of Arleux and Fresnoy, seem to give me the opportunity of expressing to all ranks the pride I feel in commanding the Canadian Corps. Since the 9th April, when the offensive against the Vimy Ridge began, to the morning of 3rd May, when Fresnoy was captured and consolidated, it has been one series of successes only obtained by troops whose courage, discipline, and initiative stand pre-eminent. Nine villages have passed into our hands. Eight German divisions have been met and defeated.

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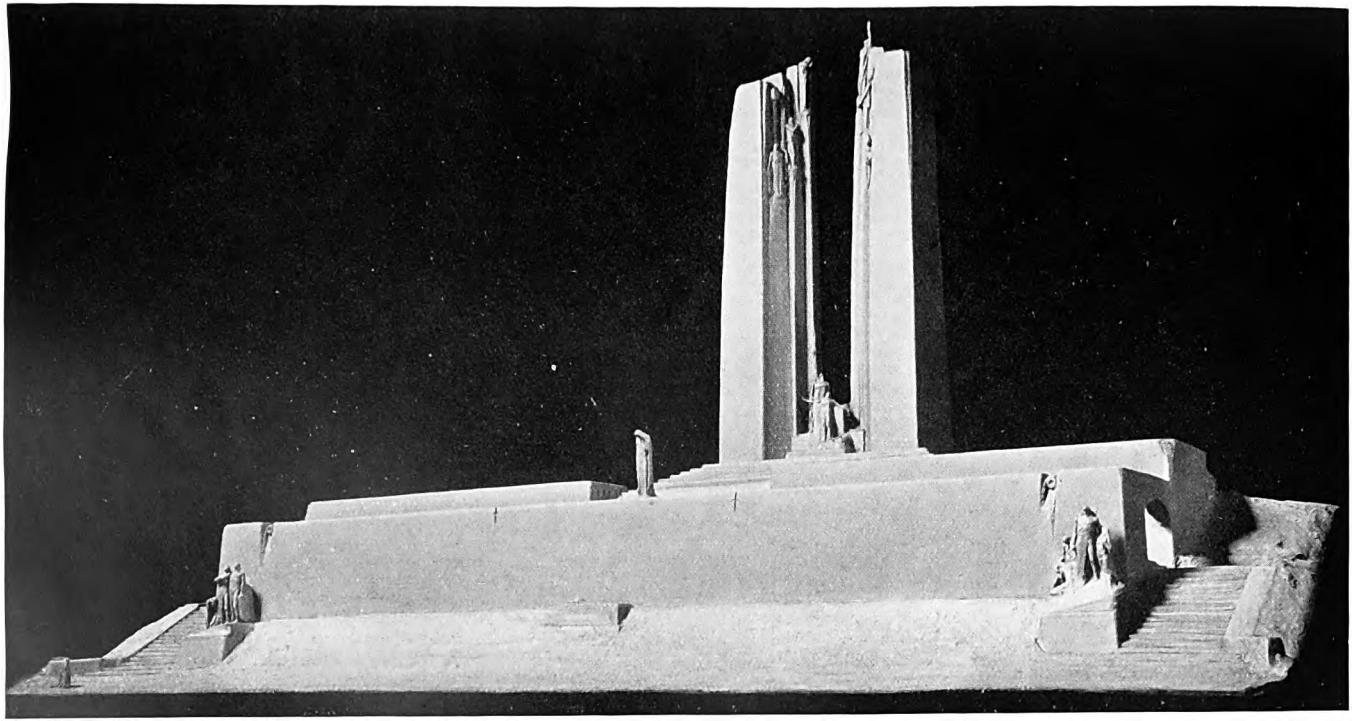

CANADIAN BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL TO BE ERECTED ON VIMY RIDGE

Designed by Walter S. Allward, Toronto

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Over 5,000 prisoners have been captured and booty comprising some 64 guns and howitzers, 106 trench mortars, 126 machine guns are now the trophies of the Canadian Corps.' Not only had the gains been greater but the casualties had been less than on the Somme. The fighting of April, which included the whole battle except the struggle round Fresnoy, cost 16,649 casualties, and to this May added 4,863, making a total of under 22,000.

SECTION 3. THE BATTLE OF HILL 70

After Fresnoy the fighting shifted to the northern sector of the Corps front where the 3rd and 4th Divisions during June pushed their way into the outer suburbs of Lens to the south of the river and canal.

At midnight, June 2nd/3rd, the 10th Brigade of the 4th Division, which had been nibbling in this neighbourhood all the previous month, made an attack on the enemy positions from La Coulotte to the Souchez River. The attacking battalions were the 44th on the right and the 50th on the left, and they met with strong opposition from the start. The 44th, after being hung up by machine guns, did eventually manage to gain their objective, La Coulotte and the Brewery north of it, but there were so few of them left that they could not stand up against the enemy counter-attacks and had to retire to their original trenches before dawn. The 50th, who had the Electric Generating Station near the river as their main objective, were, for the time, more successful. They established their line beyond the building and held on to it, though their right flank was in the air and the enemy guns were pouring intense fire on them. The shelling stopped all supplies and reinforcements from behind and in the evening when the Germans attacked under cover of their bombardment, the remnants of the 50th had to retire. The brigade lost 580 in casualties as the result of this fight, and the bitterness of the German opposition showed how determined they were to hold their Lens position. But two days later saw the sequel which so often followed a stubborn fight. On June 5th, the 102nd Battalion of the 11th Brigade, which had in the meantime relieved, entered the Electric Generating Station without opposition and it was incorporated into our line.

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No further operation of importance took place till the end of the month except a two hours' raid by the 7th and 11th Brigades on the night of the 8th/9th.

On the 25th a general advance began. The Forty-Sixth Division north of the Souchez River, on the left of the 4th Division, had compelled the enemy to give up Hill 65 (Reservoir Hill). This commanded the German positions south of the river and an immediate attack on the Canadian front was ordered. The advance, lightly contested during the next day, brought us up to the edge of Eleu dit Leauvette and Avion. During the 27th the 3rd Division took possession of most of the trench in front of the latter town (part of the Oppy–Méricourt line), while a general attack on the night of the 27th/28th gave Eleu dit Leauvette to the 4th, whence its men pushed on until stopped by inundations of the canal. During the next few days the 3rd Division worked its way by patrol fighting through a good part of Avion.

By this time the centre of gravity on the British front had shifted to the north. On June 7th Sir Herbert Plumer's Second Army had taken the Messines Ridge, and in July the offensive in the Ypres Salient which developed into the battle of Ypres 1917 was about to begin. These operations required the bulk of the British heavy artillery and nothing on a big scale could be attempted elsewhere. It was necessary, however, to hold the German divisions farther south to their ground and prevent any reinforcements moving north; and this could only be done by giving them the impression of a continued offensive on the First and Third Army fronts. The attacks which procured for us Eleu and Avion were part of this programme, though enemy withdrawals made them much easier than had been anticipated. Meanwhile the main First Army objective of Lens still remained and these withdrawals along the edge seemed to show that if we pressed vigorously the enemy might give up the town itself without much fighting. With the double purpose, therefore, of helping the armies in Flanders and of reaching towards its own special goal, the First Army on July 7th directed the G.O.C. Canadian Corps to consider plans for breaking through the Méricourt Trench and capturing the line of the railway behind it from Méricourt through Lens itself as far as the Béthune Road.

The G.O.C. Canadian Corps was now no longer Sir Julian

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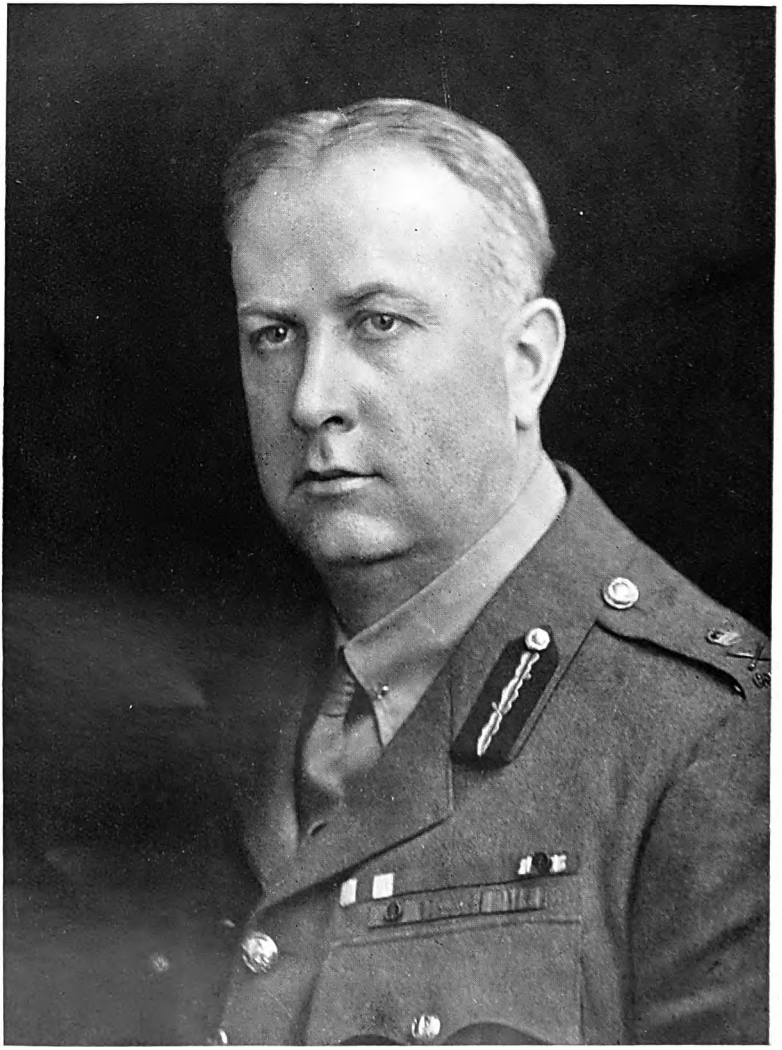

GENERAL SIR ARTHUR CURRIE

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Byng. On June 9th he had gone to take command of the Third Army ; and Major-Gen. Currie of the 1st Division, soon to be Sir Arthur Currie, was promoted to succeed him. Gen. Currie's record as a fighting soldier had been consistently brilliant since the days when he had commanded the 2nd Brigade at St. Julien. All Canadians wished to see a Canadian in charge of the Corps when Sir Julian Byng left, and Currie was the obvious man for the position. He was the first man in the British Forces not a Regular soldier to become a Corps Commander, and his career during the next one and a half years abundantly justified the choice.

General Currie disapproved of the proposal submitted to him by the First Army Head-quarters. The objective, for one thing, was unsuitable. While it would advance our line, it would not give us possession of any positions of tactical importance, and would only bring us on to lower ground more exposed to the enemy. The two keys to Lens were Hill 70 to the north-west of the town and Sallaumines Hill to the south-east ; and he considered that any operation which was to be worth while and which would threaten the enemy seriously enough to compel them to keep troops in the Lens area must be directed against one or other of these points. He made representations to this effect, and his views were approved. It was agreed that Hill 70, the capture of which would give us very useful gun positions for a further operation against Sallaumines Hill, should be made the First Army's next objective, and that the Canadians should undertake the task.

This involved a change of front, since the Canadian Corps area was south of the Souchez River, and Divisional and Corps boundaries were shifted, until the 4th, 2nd, and 1st Canadian Divisions were in line from Avion to the La Bassée Road. The 4th held the western outskirts of Lens through the Cité du Moulin up to the Béthune Road. To the north of it was the 2nd facing the Cité St. Emile, and beyond was the 1st facing Hill 70 proper. This gave the whole of the operations for the ultimate capture of Lens into the hands of the Canadian Corps.

The capture of Hill 70 would give us observation over all the Lens district and would seriously threaten the German position. It was likely, therefore, to be resisted by the most

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stubborn fighting, and the plans made for taking it had to consider also the task of holding it against determined counter-attacks. Thus a great amount of preparatory work was necessitated. It had been hoped to have the preparations complete by the end of July. But bad weather intervened, and the assault did not take place until August 15th. It inaugurated a week of the fiercest fighting.

Activities on the front north of Lens during the spring and summer of 1917 had been constant, but had been limited to minor operations, and no preparations had been made for anything on a greater scale. Recently the front had largely been denuded of guns in order to supply the Flanders offensive. When the 1st Division took over its ground no gun or howitzer ammunition was handed over and no trench munitions except in the front line; while the field artillery covering the front consisted of twelve 18-pounders. All these deficiencies had to be made up. The question of guns was a serious one and the extent of the operation was limited by the number available. Eventually a total of 466 was collected, the field-guns being made up to the number of one per 20 yards of front, some of which were 13-pounders from the Horse Artillery. Their barrage was thickened up by the fire of massed machine guns, one gun to every 35 yards.

The services of the Special Companies R.E. were also used. A gigantic programme of gas bombardment to demoralize the Lens defenders and make the area untenable was carried out. On July 26th over 1,100 drums of gas were sent into the western part of Lens (a weight of 18 tons) and drifted over the whole northern half of the city. On the night of the 30th the operation was repeated. In all, up to August 15th (zero day) 3,564 drums and 909 4-inch shells containing gas had been sent into Lens, a total weight of about 46 tons on a frontage of 2½ miles. This was the preliminary work of the Special Companies. At zero they got off about 500 drums of blazing oil into selected spots to destroy whatever defence our guns had left. All this was in addition to the gassing that might be done by the usual shelling over battery areas, and it certainly made a sufficiently powerful answer to the new mustard gas which the enemy had introduced in July.

Meanwhile the brigades assigned for the attack were prac-

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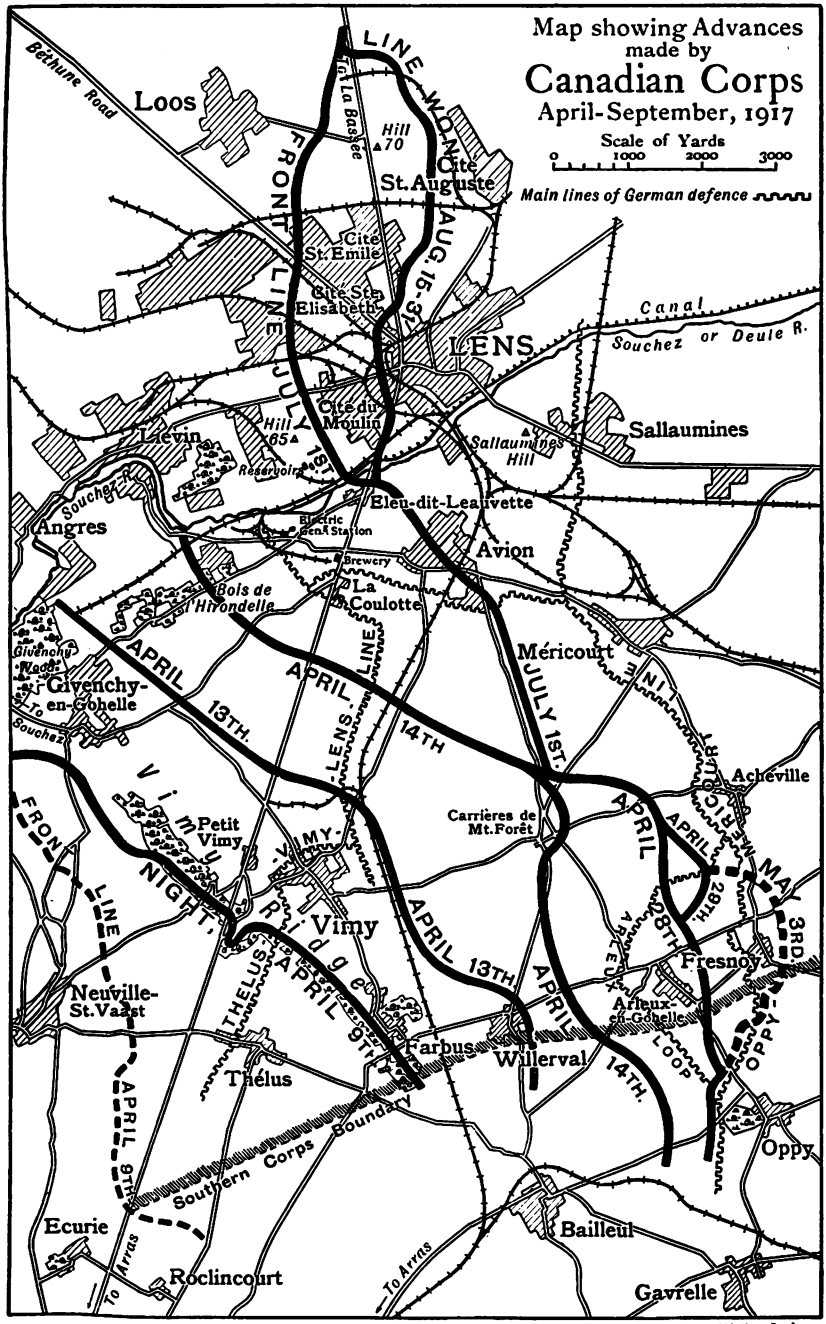

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tising their part over taped trenches and all the details of the general scheme were being worked out.

The German positions were everywhere of great strength and had been in their uninterrupted possession since the battle of Loos. Over the Hill 70 area proper they had three lines of defence (see map). Of these the front line was not particularly difficult, but the second line along the hill top (the Blue Line of our objective) was deep and well wired. Behind this second line again was a third line at the back of the crest of the hill along the trenches Cinnabar, Nun's Alley, Norman, and Hugo. Farther back lay the Cité St. Auguste, a lurking place for unknown numbers of machine guns. The obstacle in front of the 4th Division to the south consisted not so much of trench lines as of a tangle of houses, slag-heaps, and railway embankments, which provided almost indestructible cover for a determined defender, and made it inevitable that progress on the attacking side would be very slow.

The main attack was given to the 1st and 2nd Divisions. The rôle of the 4th on their right was to exploit any success by pushing into the city should the Germans begin to withdraw and generally to keep its front active. The two northern divisions attacked each with two brigades, the 2nd and 3rd for the 1st Division, and the 4th and 5th for the 2nd, on a total front of 3,500 yards. To overrun the whole of the Hill 70 area as far as the German third line meant a maximum advance in the centre of 1,500 yards, and this was divided as usual, into stages. The first objective, the Blue Line, was the second German line along the Hill. The final objective, the Green Line, ran along the German third line—Hugo and Norman Trenches and Nun's Alley—as far south as Commotion Trench, where it bent back along Commotion and Chicory to our front line. In the centre, however, across the front of the 2nd Brigade where the length of advance was greatest, an intermediate objective, the Red Line, was interposed—along Nizam Trench and Nun's Alley just beyond the crest of Hill 70. The 2nd Brigade was to reach this at the same time as the other brigades reached their Green Line, and it was then to go on down the Hill to its own part of the Green Line. This final stage in its advance down the forward slope of the Hill was fully exposed to enemy fire and on the left included a long chalk quarry which was destined to be the scene of a protracted see-saw struggle.

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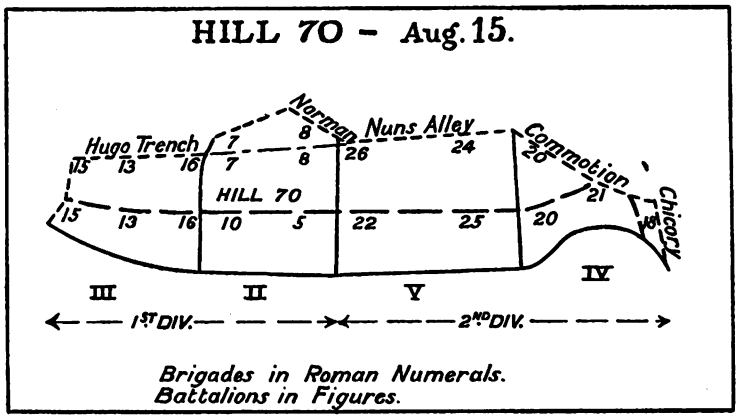
The dispositions of the two divisions for the attack are illustrated by the following sketch.

The attack began while it was still dark on the morning of August 15th. The objectives were everywhere reached by the 1st and 2nd Divisions, except in the centre on the front of the 2nd Brigade, which did not get the Green Line until the next day after the hardest struggle. But the taking of the objectives proved only a small part of the battle. For several days a constant succession of violent counter-attacks rained upon our line, and it held firm. What was won on the



15th and 16th was never taken from us. We then attempted to go forward again on August 21st on the front of the 2nd and 4th Divisions with only very partial success. The enemy held their ground with fierce tenacity; and the eight days from August 15th to August 23rd, for sheer fighting can hardly ever have been surpassed during the war.

Zero hour on the 15th was at 4.25 and everywhere the attack got off well. Puits 14 Bis on the left, one of the enemy strong points which had been attended to by our blazing oil, was found almost entirely destroyed. More opposition came from Dynamite House just between the two divisions, but the whole line went through to the Blue objective according to time-table. From here the troops proceeded methodically to the Green Line, which was also reached with but little opposition. In little more than an hour the whole of the objectives up to the Red Line in the centre and the Green Line on the flanks had been made good.

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Only in the centre where the 8th and 7th Battalions, having leapfrogged the 5th and 10th, were advancing to the Red Line was there any serious trouble. They ran into severe machine-gun fire in the now broadening daylight. But this could not stop them and they were on the Red Line in time. Then they continued towards the trench and quarry which formed the Green Line in front. But here they could not make headway. They were now moving down hill exposed to a murderous concentration of fire from the flanks, from the quarry in front, the railway behind it, and the brickworks of St. Auguste. Our own barrage became ragged and, apparently because the ground was falling away, the bursts of shrapnel were high and ineffective. The two battalions were compelled to advance by rushes from shell hole to shell hole. They had lost fairly heavily already in reaching the Red Line and had not enough men to push their attack home. Finally, the 8th on the right came definitely to a stop in the shell holes. A party of fifty men of the 7th managed to get into the quarry by heroic efforts at its northern end, but they could not clear it and at noon were withdrawn.

A new attack was immediately ordered, and the hour set for 6 o'clock. All arrangements were made for the necessary barrage which came down promptly. But the men of the 7th and 8th were by this time so exhausted with the long day's struggle and so few in number that the attack was cancelled. Orders cancelling the barrage could not get back to the artillery in time and, as it happened, it came down just at the right moment to stop a German counter-attack. That evening the 5th and 10th relieved the remnants of the 7th and 8th in the Red Line and prepared to carry on the attack next day.

Long before this the German counter-attacks had been coming thick and fast. The first, shortly before 9 in the morning, was directed against Commotion Trench, where the 21st, 20th, and 24th Battalions were consolidating their new line. It was beaten off and two more attempts that morning to assemble for the same purpose were broken up by our guns. Shortly after two in the afternoon, another attack, this time against the 18th in Chicory Trench, was more successful and the enemy gained a footing. But they were driven out again by a counter-attack, and by early evening the whole of Chicory

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was ours once more. The quality of the fighting here is illustrated by the action of Sergeant F. Hobson of the 20th which won him the V.C. Taking charge of a Lewis gun which had been buried, he got it into action against the advancing enemy. A jam caused the gun to stop firing. Though wounded, he left the gunners to correct the stoppage, rushed forward, and with bayonet and clubbed rifle single-handed held the enemy back until he himself was killed. His self-sacrifice gave time for help to come up and saved the situation.

Meanwhile the left flank of the advance, the front of the 3rd Brigade and especially that of the 15th Battalion, was being subjected to a shower of blows. The first was at 11.45 in the morning, the enemy advancing across the open against the 15th, and it was broken up by infantry and artillery combined. In about half an hour they endeavoured to bomb their way forward from the Bois Hugo against the 13th, only to fail again. At 12.45 a stronger effort was made against the 15th. A few Germans actually managed to get into the trenches but were dealt with. They tried again at 1.15 but this effort was only half-hearted and easily defeated. Two more attacks took place in the afternoon and another in the evening before the sorely tried Highlanders were left in peace. Their record that day could not easily be beaten.

The fighting had also extended to the front of the 4th Division. In the hope that the attack on Hill 70 would loosen the enemy hold on Lens, the 11th Brigade in the line had been ordered to push forward strong fighting patrols and to occupy the line of Alpaca, Aconite, and Aloof Trenches about 500 yards beyond its front posts. But the Germans showed no intention of retiring as yet. When the 75th and 87th Battalion patrols advanced, they immediately came under heavy fire. Even so they managed to push into Aconite Trench, but a German attack drove them out again, and they had to be content with establishing a line along Bell St., 200 yards back. These encounters marked the entrance of the 4th Division into the struggle. For the remainder of the month, though it played only the subsidiary rôle of distracting attention from Hill 70, it was constantly engaged in fighting as bitter as that taking place farther north.

The main event of August 16th was the attempt of the 2nd and 5th Brigades to finish off the incomplete performance

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of the day before. The 5th Brigade was to bomb up Norman Trench till it reached the right flank of the 2nd, whose 5th and 10th Battalions at the same time tried their hand upon the Quarry and the Green Line. The attack took place at four in the afternoon under an intense barrage. Again furious machine-gun fire was met but the two battalions got in with the bayonet. The Quarry was cleared and the whole of our objectives won. Very quickly the enemy countered. The hard-pressed men of the 5th and 10th were forced back towards the Red Line. Once more they attacked and by midnight had possession of the Quarry again. There the 4th Battalion from the 1st Brigade relieved them, while the 2nd Battalion took over the 3rd Brigade front. The 2nd Brigade had gone into battle 3,370 strong; its casualties were 1,651, just about 50 per cent. The 3rd Brigade had not had quite so hard a time, but its losses were 880.

While the 1st Brigade was still in process of relieving the other two on the 16th/17th, German counter-attacks began again. They continued steadily along the whole front north of the Souchez for the next few days and nights, and everywhere they were beaten off. Two fresh divisions who were badly needed in Flanders were used up by the enemy in this fighting; and their losses from throwing troops in piecemeal against our stone-wall defence, must have been very heavy.[1]

Counter-attacks meant intense activity for the artillery, and the night of the 17th/18th was extremely trying for them. Three S.O.S.'s went up from 11.30 to 4.30, and each time were answered with the full strength of the guns. While the firing was on the enemy sent over mustard gas in a bombardment which was concentrated and accurate. The batteries of the 1st and 2nd Brigade, C.F.A., especially, suffered heavily. 'Men at the guns found themselves unable to see the graduations of the sights of the clinometer through the goggles of the Box Respirator, or to set the fuzes. Rather than slacken their fire or impair its activity while answering the S.O.S. calls, many men removed at least the face-piece of their Box Respirator. Others were gassed while replenishing ammuni-

[1] Altogether 30 counter-attacks, some great and some small, were made during the period August 15th–23rd; 69 German battalions were identified, and when later encountered at Ypres they stated that the average loss of each round Lens was 400. The casualties of the Canadian Corps for the month of August were 10,746.

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tion. Instances occurred of men who had fainted from the N.C.T. fumes of their own guns being then poisoned by the gas shell.' But the gunners did their work and were never called on in vain.

It was during these attacks of the 17/18th that Major O. M. Learmouth of the 2nd Battalion won the V.C. In the first attack when his company was momentarily surprised he instantly charged and disposed of the enemy. Later, under intense barrage fire and mortally wounded, he stood on the parapet bombing the enemy back and directing the defence. When he could no longer carry on the fight he refused to be taken out of the line and continued to give instructions to his junior officers until exhausted. His splendid example inspired his men and the line held firm.

Finally, on the 18th the enemy desisted and the Hill 70 front became quiet. In the centre our posts were slightly withdrawn. Norman Trench, at the apex of the line, was abandoned and the front was taken up along Noggin Trench where it remained, and where the 1st Division handed over to the 3rd.

Meanwhile the 4th Division had been persistently pushing forward its patrols into the western end of the city. On the 17th the 102nd Battalion had renewed the attempt against Aloof Trench; and, while the attack failed of the objective, it managed to make good Amulet on the way to it. On the 20th there was more fighting; and finally on the 21st, the offensive was renewed in earnest by the 2nd and 4th Divisions, with the object of closing in along the northern and western sides of the town.

The 6th Brigade now took over the fighting on behalf of the 2nd Division, its objectives being the line of Nun's Alley, Cinnabar, and Combat Trenches, about 500 yards beyond the front won on the 15th. South of the Béthune Road the 10th Brigade, which had relieved the 11th, was to push through Alpaca, Aconite, and Aloof in the direction of the Arras Road. The attack began at 4.35 in the morning and the day saw even more desperate fighting than the 15th, if that were possible. Only on the right were we able to make headway; on the left the day ended with our troops back in their original line.

The 10th Brigade had the 47th, 46th, and 50th Battalions

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in the line from right to left, the 44th being reserved for a further attack on the Green Crassier in front of the right flank should the day's advance be successful. In the centre the 46th got away well and were soon on their objectives. The 47th also met little shelling and their left kept touch with the 46th. Their right was held up most of the day by rifle and machine-gun fire, and it was not till night that a fresh attack carried them forward across the Arras Road to a position facing the Green Crassier. But the 50th in front of Aloof Trench never got properly started at all. The German guns fell on them as they were assembling before zero and did terrible execution. What attack they could make was badly disorganized and by 6 o'clock they were back in their original lines, where only 138 men could be collected.

Meanwhile the 6th Brigade was having the hardest fighting of its career. Its attacking battalions were the 27th and the 29th, each with three companies in the front line. Just before zero the Germans themselves attacked on the extreme left flank of the 29th, which was already engaged in stiff hand-to-hand fighting when our barrage began and with it the signal to advance. Then followed a scene seldom paralleled in this war. Out in No Man's Land the two left companies of the 29th ran into masses of Germans who were obviously just ready to advance. For fifteen minutes a fierce bayonet struggle took place. The Canadians were experts with the bayonet and were soon masters of the situation. Then they pushed on and made good their objective along Nun's Alley, though wire in front of part of Cinnabar still barred their way.

Meanwhile the men of the 27th were meeting opposition almost as stubborn. On the right along the Béthune Road they forced their way forward to the objective, but were then compelled to withdraw as no cover from the awful shelling could be dug in the rubble. In the centre the German machine guns were too powerful and here the advance came to a full stop. To the left they got into Cinnabar and gained touch with the 29th. This was the limit of the advance.

All day long the enemy shelled or counter-attacked. Communications with the rear were broken down entirely; it was impossible to direct the fight or to tell what was happening. The Germans poured in endless streams from the houses of Lens; and finally, about four in the afternoon, the centre of

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the 27th had to make its way back. This necessitated withdrawal on both flanks, and the whole brigade gradually came back. The enemy continued their attacks and struck now at our old line; but here we held firm and so the day came to an end, and with it all attempts on our part to push farther into Lens from the north-west.

The 4th Division was active for some time yet. The 10th Brigade was ordered to complete the operations begun on the 21st; and on the 23rd the 44th Battalion went forward against the Green Crassier and Fosse St. Louis to the north of it. After half an hour's fierce fighting, the Crassier was taken, but Fosse St. Louis proved more difficult. Three times the 44th got possession of the ruins only to be driven out on each occasion. The enemy poured out of cellars and from a tunnel near the building, and no punishment could stop them. The loss of the Fosse cut the Green Crassier position off from all communications. No supplies or reinforcements could get forward across the fire-swept slopes of the slag-heap. The little isolated parties held on till late in the afternoon when the Germans overwhelmed the few survivors.

On the 25th the 4th Division brought the fighting in this area to a close. The 50th Battalion sent out bombing parties who, with little trouble, seized Aloof Trench, which had been such a thorn in our side. There was little to show for all this bitter August fighting. The ground gained at heavy cost of life did not repay the effort expended on winning it, though the tactical position was undoubtedly strengthened and this may have been the reason why it was immune from German attack in 1918. But, viewed as part of a general offensive, it contributed to wearing down the enemy, it kept German troops tied to the spot, when they were needed and might otherwise have been sent farther north, it worried the Germans, not knowing where the main blow would fall, and its full harvest was reaped when a year later at all points of the line the blows could be driven home with equal force.

After August 25th the fighting died down. Two days before, on August 23rd, the 1st and 2nd Divisions had been relieved by the 3rd. September and the early part of October were a comparatively quiet time, chiefly occupied with preparations for the next offensive, against the Sallaumines Hill, the second key to Lens. Provisionally the operation was assigned to the

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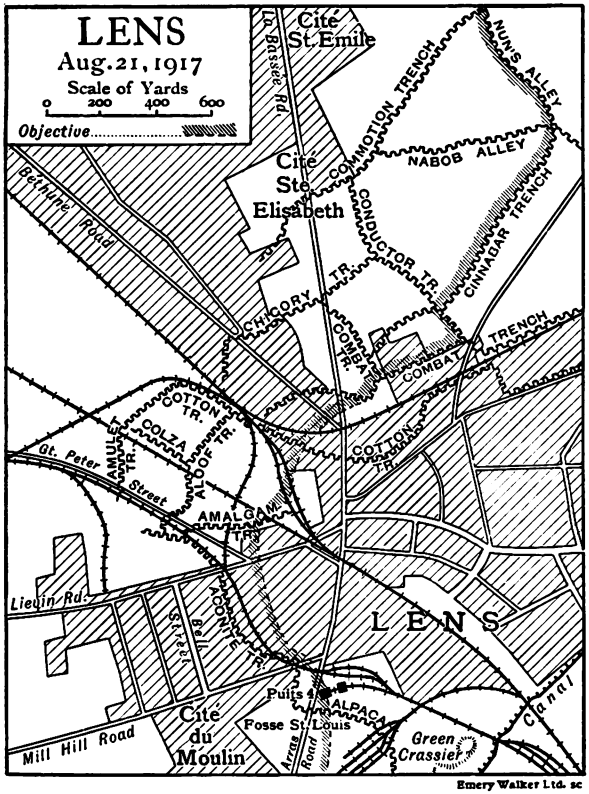

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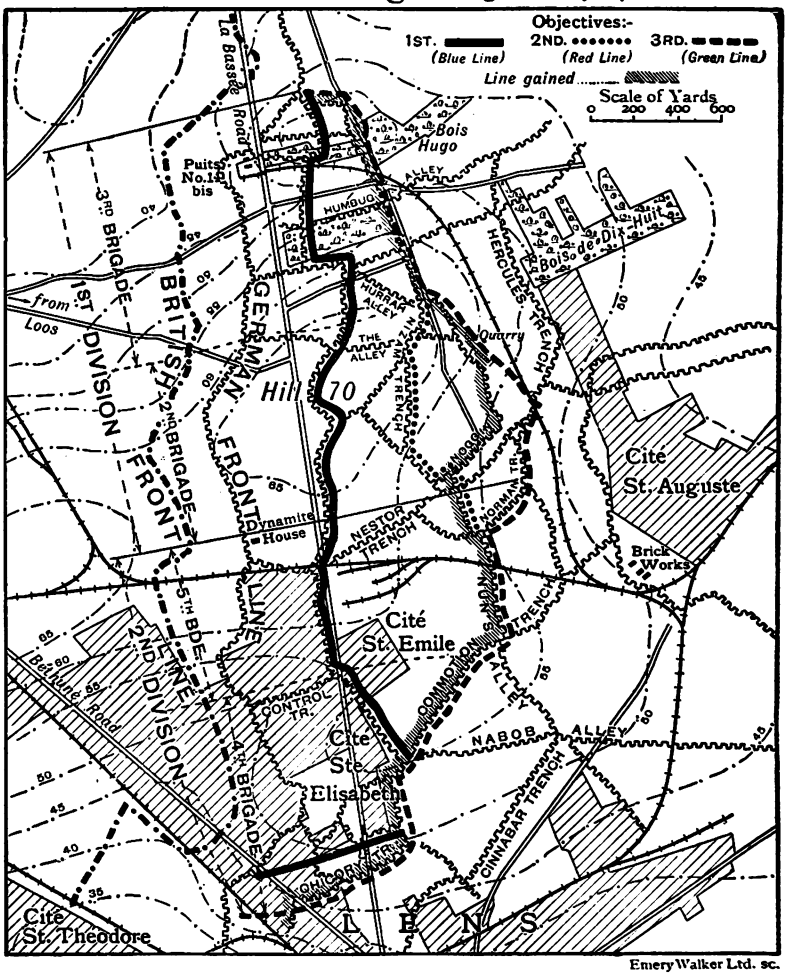
HILL 70. August 15th. 1917



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2nd, 3rd, and 4th Divisions, who took up their fronts south of the Souchez River. Conferences were held, objectives were worked out, and orders issued that all preparations were to be complete by the first week in October. Then on October 3rd it was announced that the operation was postponed, and in a few days the attention of the Corps was being turned to Ypres.

Even before Ypres loomed on the horizon, a change of scene was being considered. Sir Julian Byng was seeking the Canadian Corps to take part in a surprise attack planned for the Cambrai front. He had been discussing with the Corps Commander the tactics of tank and infantry co-operation without artillery; and it was being arranged that the Canadians should go south to initiate the attack that was to change the tactics of the war. But suddenly the call came from Ypres, where fresh troops were needed to maintain the impetus of the British attack on the Flanders ridges; and, as far as the Canadian Corps was concerned, both Cambrai and Lens had to be postponed to an indefinite future.

SECTION 4. PASSCHENDAELE

The name of Passchendaele still arouses bitter memories in Canada, for here, amid indescribable miseries, seemingly to win part of a ridge which a few months later was given up almost without fighting, 16,000 Canadian casualties were incurred.[1] Undoubtedly the few weeks spent in the Ypres Salient in the autumn of 1917 were the most trying of all Canadian experiences on the Western Front. Yet the battle should rather be remembered as a triumph of organized effort carried out almost exactly to time-table, in spite of enemy and weather. Here, as always, the Canadian troops proved themselves equal to any demands made upon them, but nothing was asked of them until the most thorough preparation had been made. The essence of the situation was elsewhere than at Passchendaele; a supreme effort on the British front was dictated by political and strategic considerations, but no pains were spared to make the effort as economical as possible.

On October 7th the Corps Commander received instructions from the First Army Head-quarters to place himself in touch

[1] Casualties of the Corps for October and November, 16,463.

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with the Second Army for the purpose of studying certain plans and operations, but it was not until an attack had failed on October 12th that the final decision was made to throw in the Canadian Corps. Previously, in the hope that the units already in the line would succeed on that day, various plans had been discussed for using the Canadians to carry the advance farther east. These were now given up: the Second Anzac Corps, which had suffered severely in the sector facing the village, was relieved by the Canadians, and they were to form the spear-head of an attack that would place us finally on the last stretch of the high ground left to the Germans around Ypres.

Recent attacks had broken down largely because of insufficient artillery support. This in turn had been due to the state of the ground—to the fact that our advance, slow as it was, had outrun the communications in the rear over the six miles of shell-ploughed mud towards Ypres. General Currie refused to attack again until these deficiencies were made good and the infantry could be sent forward with a reasonable chance of success. This he calculated at first would not be before October 28th, but he eventually agreed to October 26th provided that weather conditions were good in the interval. There was no difficulty about the infantry, who could be got into position quickly. The question was one of guns and roads, and the artillery especially was found to be very disorganized. Batteries which had attempted to move forward along impossible roads had been brought to a standstill and had come into action piecemeal with guns distributed haphazard over a wide area. Under these circumstances no proper registration or control was possible and the shooting became altogether unreliable. Some of the troops whom the Canadians relieved complained that they had advanced practically without a barrage in the last attack. Batteries were also deficient in their proper complement of guns. When the Canadian Corps came to count the guns supposed to be taken over on its front more than 100 could not be found. General Currie, on protesting, was assured by higher authorities that, if the guns were missing, which they were loth to believe, he must have been handed over the indents for them. He replied that he could not fight the Boche with indents, and the requisite number of guns was

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forthcoming before October 26th. At the same time the construction of further plank roads and of light railways was rushed on so that the battle might not only be started again but kept going continuously to the end.

Meanwhile the Corps and Divisional staffs devoted themselves to studying the situation. Canadian representatives were at the head-quarters of the Second Anzac Corps from October 12th, ten days before any Canadian troops went into the line. By October 17th complete detailed maps and intelligence reports had been issued to units. 'Instructions for the Offensive, Passchendaele No. 1' were finally issued by Corps on October 23rd. By this time the 4th and 3rd Divisions were in the line, having relieved the 3rd Australian and the New Zealand Divisions respectively on the 22nd. Both divisions in co-operation with the Corps and with their brigades had already worked out details and every unit knew what part it had to play. Strenuous and thorough work of preparation was the initial factor which made final victory possible.

According to the Corps orders of October 23rd, the general plan was as follows: The attack on Passchendaele was to take place in three stages, known as Phases 6, 7, and 8, in the Second Army scheme. Phases 6 and 7 were assigned to the 3rd and 4th Divisions, Phase 8 to the 1st and 2nd. Phase 6, the capture of the Red Line (see map), would take place on 'O' day, October 26th; and the succeeding Phases, the capture of the Blue and Green Lines, were set provisionally for October 30th and November 6th. Both these later dates and objectives were subject to alteration according to weather and to the progress made. When therefore the difficulties of making its way along the Bellevue–Meetcheele spur with impassable bogs on each flank had held up the left division, Phase 8 was split into two operations which became known as Phases 8 and 9, and took place on November 6th and 10th. By the evening of November 10th the Canadian line rested practically where it had been drawn on October 23rd. The attacking infantry had made their way forward through the heaviest shell-fire over ground that was almost impassable even for a lightly-equipped man in quiet times, and had eliminated one deadly pill-box after another. The guns behind them had kept up night and day an overwhelming fire that

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destroyed nearly every German attempt at counter-attack. Supplies for both guns and men had come up steadily and regularly. In the face of almost insuperable obstacles, the Corps had accomplished its task with mathematical precision.

The defence system which faced the Canadians was of an entirely different nature from that to which they had become accustomed in the Somme and Vimy areas. The low-lying ground of the Salient, slowly being transformed into one vast marsh as the shells blocked and turned the courses of the little 'beeks', made regular trenches and deep dug-outs impossible. To meet this situation the Germans had devised their pill-boxes, and the pill-box system had proved an even harder obstacle than the Somme trenches. For these little concrete structures, showing only a few feet above the level of the ground and disposed irregularly in depth, presented targets very difficult to locate and still more difficult to destroy. Our heavy guns by intense bombardment before the attack aimed to isolate and shell-shock the garrisons of those which they did not knock out. But when the infantry came on after the guns had done their best, every surviving pill-box presented a separate problem, and one pill-box with its machine guns might hold up the whole line of advance. In such circumstances mopping-up became more than ever important and great were the responsibilities of the local commanders on the spot. Company and platoon and section commanders had to be prepared to manœuvre quickly in unforeseen situations as their protecting barrage went steadily forward. Tanks and trench mortars could not advance over the soft ground; the infantry had to depend upon their own arms, and the rifle and Lewis gun came into their own. It was a type of fighting in which the best plans would have gone astray without troops of the very highest quality to carry them out.

Behind the infantry as they advanced was gathered an immense aggregation of artillery and machine guns. Each division had the Field Artillery of two divisions to provide its barrage, with a double group (8–10 batteries) of Heavy Artillery added. Under the control of Corps were six more groups (5–6 batteries each) of Heavies for bombardment and counter-battery work. The 1st Division calculated in its attacks that it had an 18-pounder for every 9 yards of front,

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and a 4·5 inch howitzer for every 36 yards; and that during its tour in the line the 18-pounders consumed 1,161 tons of ammunition and the 4·5's 446 tons, all of which had to be delivered to the guns by pack animals; the other divisions were similarly supplied. The machine guns were organized, as usual in all the Corps operations, according to one co-ordinated plan, some going forward with the attacking waves as sniping or mobile defence batteries, and the remainder assisting the artillery in its barrage; there were enough barrage guns to provide one for every 30 yards of front.

The Corps front (see map) ran for about 3,000 yards north-west from the Ypres–Roulers railway. The general plan of attack for the first two phases to the Red and Blue Lines was that the 4th Division should advance on the right on a one-brigade front, and the 3rd Division on the left with two brigades in the line, the divisional boundary being formed by the little stream, the Ravebeek. The Red and Blue Lines were approximately the same objectives which the Second Anzac Corps had tried unsuccessfully to reach in its last attack. The Red Line, the objective of Phase 6, did not, except on the right, give us a footing on the main line of the ridge; its purpose was to provide a jumping-off line for Phase 7 which would bring us far enough forward to deprive the enemy of his observation.

The advance was complicated by the lie of the ground. On the right the 4th Division was from the start on higher ground along the main ridge, and had comparatively good going all the way. But between it and the 3rd lay the marshy and impassable valley of the Ravebeek, which prevented the two divisions from keeping in touch with one another. North of the Ravebeek there ran out from the main ridge the long narrow Bellevue–Meetcheele–Mosselmarkt spur, only 350 yards wide at its narrowest point in front of Meetcheele. This was the key to the German position and it was covered with a maze of pill-boxes and wire. Projecting out into the very centre of the attackers' line with its machine guns sweeping both flanks, it might break up the whole assault. It had to be attacked frontally because it afforded over the centre of the Corps front the only ground along which troops could move. North of the Bellevue spur again was the shorter and blunter Goudberg Spur with marshy flats in front of it and between it and

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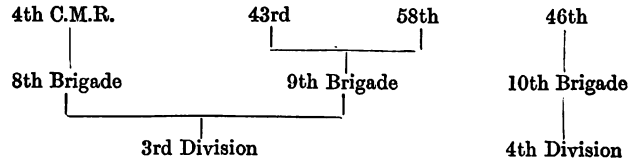
the northern slopes of Bellevue. Obviously the left division would have tougher work than the right.

The dispositions of the two divisions were as follows: In the 4th Division the 10th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. E. Hilliam) was to take the Red Line and the 12th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. J. H. MacBrien) the Blue Line, while the 11th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. V. Odlum) was kept behind to provide working parties. In the 3rd Division the 9th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. F. W. Hill), on the right on a two-battalion front, was to take the Red Line, and the 7th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. H. M. Dyer) the Blue Line, while the 8th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. H. Elmsley), on the left on a one-battalion front, was to stay in for both objectives. As the Red Line was farthest from our front on the left an intermediate objective (the Dotted Red Line on the map) had been interposed, over which the barrage was to pause in its advance to enable the troops to get into position for the final objective. The 4th Division patrols had found that most of the ground between them and the Red Line was clear, and its attack was to go straight through without stopping to the final objective.

The line of attack on October 26th was as in the diagram below:



The troops destined for the assault came into the line a clear day before zero in order to give them time to get their bearings in daylight over the muddy expanse in front, from which shelling had removed almost all the landmarks. This plan was followed in all the attacks and justified itself in spite of the danger involved of incurring casualties before the attack began. Zero was at 5.40 in the morning. Our barrage moved forward in lifts of 50 yards every 4 minutes, a pace that proved to be the utmost which could be expected of the infantry in the heavy going.

On the right the 46th Battalion reached its objective quickly in spite of vigorous opposition from Decline Copse along the railway. The enemy here were driven out of their position

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with the help of the Australians, and our posts were established all along the Red Line in time to beat off a counter-attack at 7.30. Here they remained. At night, when the 47th took over, there was some misunderstanding about Decline Copse and the enemy regained possession. They were ousted again next evening, the 27th, only to come back two days later at the very moment when the 12th Brigade was going into the line for Phase 7. The 12th Brigade once more cleared the Copse and was able to carry on its attack according to programme.

The attacking battalions of the 3rd Division had meanwhile, on the morning of the 26th, met with a fierce reception. As the 58th and 43rd came up over the crest of the Bellevue Spur, they were mowed down by machine-gun fire from all sides; within a couple of hours the whole attack had been broken up and the survivors who could be collected were back on the jumping-off line. The Brigade was preparing to attack once more, reinforced by the 52nd Battalion, when suddenly news came back that a few of the 43rd had managed to capture two pill-boxes on the north-west side of the spur, had beaten off all attempts of the enemy to dislodge them, and were still hanging on. This splendid little exploit which won a V.C. for the officer in charge of it, Lieut. R. Shankland, undoubtedly saved the situation. The 52nd renewed the attack. The tenacity of the 43rd men had given us a foothold on the spur and while there was no getting forward on the south side of the ridge, a line was finally established by evening from Laambeek to the cross-roads beyond Bellevue. During the night the pill-boxes along the road to the left were also cleared and thus the Dotted Red Line was made good except on the extreme right towards Snipe Hall. In the second attack another V.C. was won for the Brigade by Captain C. P. V. O'Kelly of the 52nd, whose company captured no fewer than six pill-boxes and 100 prisoners.

The left of the Dotted Red Line had been made good in the meantime by the 4th C.M.R. They had succeeded in pushing their way thus far in their first advance. But when the barrage lifted at 7.36 a.m. machine-gun fire became so heavy that here they stuck. Both flanks were in the air and reinforcements had to be sent up from the 1st C.M.R. On the left the Royal Naval Division for a time seemed not to have

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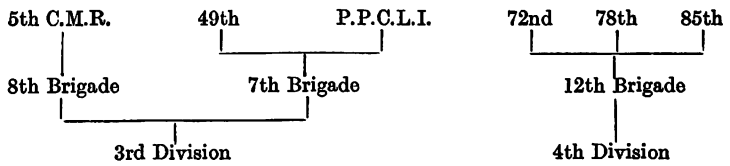
got beyond the jumping-off line and our men suffered from fire from Source Trench. On the right they were punished likewise until the 9th Brigade attacked a second time and the 52nd connected up with them. Eventually also touch was found with the R.N.D. to the left rear and a continuous line established.

Thus the day's work on the 3rd Division's front, though the Red Line had not been reached at any point, had given us a firm foothold on the vital Bellevue Spur. During the interval between October 26th and 30th, while the 10th Brigade was engaged in the swaying fight about Decline Copse, the 9th tried to push its right forward towards Snipe Hall. But two attempts (by the 116th Battalion) failed and Phase 7 had to start from the line as won on October 26th.

The line of attack for October 30th was as in the diagram below:



The 4th Division's objective on its right front took it across the ridge until it was looking down over the low ground in front of Vienna Cottages and Tiber. On its left the main objective was the strong point of Crest Farm, a commanding position from which the enemy could sweep not only across the 4th Divisional front but also across the Ravebeek along the Bellevue Spur. The 3rd Division had again, as in Phase 6, an extremely difficult task. Its right Brigade must work its way along the fire-swept Bellevue Spur; while, on the left, the 5th C.M.R. of the 8th Brigade were faced by the equally strenuous task of getting up to the line of Vapour and Vanity Farms across the marshy ground in front of the Goudberg Spur. As the Blue Line was some thousand yards distant from the jumping-off line an intermediate objective (the Dotted Blue Line) was fixed as in Phase 6.

The attack began at 5.50 a.m. Along the 4th Divisional front the success of Phase 6 was repeated. The three battalions went straight through to the objective in spite of the heaviest fire from shells and machine guns. Their casualties were high,

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the 85th losing 50 per cent. of their effectives. But they made good the Blue Line along the whole front and held it through the day. On the left the difficulties of the 72nd were increased by the necessity of protecting their flank, exposed because the 3rd Division across the Ravebeek had not kept pace. But Crest Farm, the key to the line, was in their hands before 7 o'clock; and from there they did good execution with captured machine guns against the enemy attacks on the P.P.C.L.I. A few of the 12th Brigade penetrated almost as far as Passchendaele Church when the barrage died down. But this was beyond the day's objectives, and they were recalled to consolidate the line which had been won.

On the 3rd Division's front the tale was different. The P.P.C.L.I. managed to gain possession of Meetcheele, to which they hung on doggedly, but they could make no further way. The 49th on their left were not able to push quite so far and gradually the 7th Brigade settled down on the line Graf–Meetcheele–Furst Farm. The day's fighting was of the bitterest kind, and three V.C.'s were subsequently awarded to members of the Brigade—to Sergeant G. Mullin of the P.P.C.L.I., Pte. C. V. Kinross of the 49th, and Lieut. H. MacKenzie of the Brigade Machine-Gun Company. Sergeant Mullin's exploit illustrates the character of the pill-box warfare. Finding his line suffering severely from a pill-box he worked his way alone to within bombing-distance. Here he bombed some snipers on the outside who had been doing deadly execution, and then he rushed to the pill-box. Crawling on top he shot the two machine-gunners through the loophole with his revolver and then made his way to the entrance behind to kill the remainder of the garrison. They had had enough by this time and surrendered, ten in number.

Meanwhile along the low ground the 5th C.M.R. had reached the Dotted Blue Line. Here they split into two parties and worked around both sides of the bog of Woodland Plantation. About 40 men, under Major J. R. Pearkes, managed to reach the high ground and seized Vanity and Vapour Farms. As the R.N.D. were not up on their left, they went out of the divisional area and captured Source Farm also. Here, cut off on both flanks, they held on heroically all day. The 2nd C.M.R. tried to reinforce them but only a handful were able to make their way forward, for the low ground between the farms

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and our old front line was made a death-trap by the German machine guns. The enemy attacks drove them out of Vanity Farm, but they stuck to Source and Vapour and no efforts could dislodge them. It was a splendid feat for which Major Pearkes received the V.C. Like the action of the 43rd on the 26th, it gave a foothold on valuable high ground from which to launch the next attack.

The general result of Phase 7, therefore, was that on the right the whole of the objective had been attained. In the centre along the Bellevue Spur we were still some distance short of it. On the left, cut off by swamp from the centre and almost from its own supports, the 8th Brigade sat with a precarious hold over the short stretch of Vapour and Source Farms. Here Vanity Farm and Vine Cottage stood as a thorn in its side, and before handing over to the 1st Division troops for Phase 8, the Brigade decided to get control of them. On November 2nd, in a night raid, parties of the 1st C.M.R. made the attempt and added Vanity Farm, but Vine Cottage remained German. This was the only change in the situation which occurred between Phases 7 and 8. The enemy, it is true, made a heavy attack on the right against the Crest Farm position just after the 2nd Division had come into the line and were momentarily successful but a counter-attack drove them out again and the line stood.

On November 4th the 2nd Division relieved the 4th and the 1st relieved the 3rd. Owing to the incomplete success of our advance in the centre and to the nature of the ground here which made advance possible only along a very narrow front, the remaining operations were split into two stages. The first attack, Phase 8, was to include the village of Passchendaele and the high ground about Mosselmarkt, while the push to the far edge of the ridge towards the north-east was left for a further attack, Phase 9.

For Phase 8 the village of Passchendaele fell within the area assigned to the 2nd Division. We were already on the top of the ridge here, almost at the outskirts of the village, and the attack, entrusted to the 5th (Brig.-Gen. J. M. Ross) and 6th (Brig.-Gen. H. D. B. Ketchem) Brigades, was a straightforward advance. The 1st Division had a rather more complicated task. The line of its objective was the high ground beyond Mosselmarkt and along the Goudberg Spur. This could

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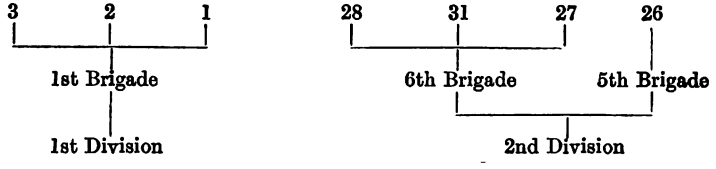
not be approached directly along its whole front because of the marsh in front of Goudberg. It was therefore decided to move with the main attack along the south side of the ridge from Meetcheele to Mosselmarkt, where the troops would have protection for a time from machine-gun fire from the north; while simultaneously a subsidiary attack should be made from Vapour and Vanity Farms against Vine Cottage. When the main attack reached its final objective a line of posts was to be established from Valour to Vanity Farm, which would secure the Goudberg Spur. Both the main and subsidiary attacks were given to the 1st Brigade (Brig.-Gen. W. A. Griesbach), which was to be relieved by the 3rd immediately on attaining success.

The British line of advance was now growing narrower and the attack of November 6th was to be the work of the Canadian Corps alone. The Corps on the flanks were to assist by bombarding respectively the Keiberg and Vat Cottage Spurs, from which the Germans could enfilade our advance. Immediately after the attack, the First (British) Division of the IInd Corps which had come into the line on the left was to relieve the 1st Canadian Division of the line from Vapour Farm to the west in preparation for the further operations of Phase 9, in which British troops were to assist more actively.

The line of attack for November 6th was as in the diagram below:



Phase 8 went according to programme all along the line. Zero was at 6 a.m. and by 7.10 our men were reported moving through Passchendaele. The troops of the 6th Brigade, who had succeeded in assembling in strange ground within 150 yards of the enemy front positions, effected a complete surprise and were on the Germans with the bayonet at the first lift of the barrage. There was some sharp fighting among the pill-boxes at the northern end of the village, but by 8 o'clock the Brigade objectives had been reached. To reach them the 28th in places had to wade through mud that was waist-deep.

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On the right the 26th Battalion of the 5th Brigade were equally successful, and before 9 o'clock the 2nd Division had beaten off the first counter-attack of the day, the only one indeed during the day for which the enemy succeeded in assembling in any force. The alertness of the support behind the infantry is illustrated by an incident reported by the 26th. When the S.O.S. rocket went up our machine guns opened so promptly that they were all firing before the flare had reached the ground.

On the left the 1st Brigade also gained all its objectives. The garrison of Mosselmarkt was surprised and soon surrendered, though tougher opposition was met a little distance beyond. The stoutest resistance of the day came from Vine Cottage on the left, which held out for three-quarters of an hour before its garrison gave in. But with this obstacle out of the way there was little difficulty in making the Brigade line continuous. November 6th, therefore, closed on the most successful of the Canadian attacks to date. The Commander-in-Chief's dispatch referred to it as 'this most successful attack, by which for the second time within the year Canadian troops achieved a record of uninterrupted success'.

The object of Phase 9 was to get possession of the remaining high ground north of Passchendaele about Vindictive Cross Roads and Hill 52 so as to gain complete observation over the German positions to the north-east. It put the finishing touch to what had been already done and did not involve so great an advance as the three previous attacks. It fell mainly to the 1st Division, the 2nd Division having only one battalion co-operating on the right. On the left the First (British) Division had to make good the Vat Cottages Spur. It was also responsible for Virtue, Vocation, and Vox Farms along the Canadian left flank, a very important responsibility from the Canadian point of view, because these positions enfiladed the advance of the 1st Division.

The Canadian attack was in the hands of the 20th Battalion of the 4th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. R. Rennie) and the 7th and 8th of the 2nd Brigade (Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis). It was carried out in a violent rainstorm, which continued all day. The salient made by our line now also subjected it to an extra concentration of German artillery, since enemy guns could bear upon it from north, east, and south at once. But

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the long strain was making the enemy infantry less troublesome, and the 20th Battalion on the right reached the objective without opposition. The 7th and 8th also made good their objectives within an hour and a half of zero but not without adventure.

The 7th, on reaching their line beyond Vindictive Cross Roads, found themselves troubled by Germans in Venison Trench, a short distance farther on, and after some sharp fighting by Lewis guns, Venison Trench was included in the Canadian line. The position, however, was too far forward, and later the line was withdrawn to the original objective. To the north the 8th Battalion, after going through Venture and Virtue Farms without trouble, found their whole left flank bare as the British troops had not come up. German machine guns in Vox and Vocation Farms were firing at them from the rear, and with the help of the 5th Battalion a new line had to be formed all along the exposed northern flank. This was finally done, making good the last of the Canadian objectives.

With the capture of Passchendaele the Ypres offensive came to an end and the Canadian Corps almost immediately obtained the relief which their brilliant services had so well earned. Our final line was consolidated on a front of about 3,500 yards from Tiber to Venture Farm. It was held in a system of shell-holes since continuous shelling made regular trenches impossible. Immediately in rear a stronger support line ran behind the crest of the ridge through the village. The position was not satisfactory, for the front system formed a pronounced salient and was divided by a deep area of low ground from the second line far back on Abraham Heights. Bitter experience had shown that access to the front was possible only along two routes, the line of the main ridge on the right and the line of the Bellevue Spur on the left; both of which could be made almost unliveable by shell-fire. It was not a good defensive position and, when economy of troops made it necessary to shorten the front in 1918, it was given up.

But the Canadians had accomplished what they set out to do, and when the Corps was relieved on November 18th they could return to their old front with proud hearts. On paper the success might not look great; for the area captured, about two square miles, and the depth of penetration, about 3,000

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yards, could not be compared with the gains of many of their other operations. But the victory had really been won against the weather and the ground as well as the German guns and pill-boxes. No words can do justice to the indescribable horrors of the Ypres Salient in the autumn of 1917. It is better to quote the Corps Commander's tribute to his men in the report which he made after the battle was over. The two main causes for the Canadian success he set down as firstly, the fighting spirit of the men, and secondly, the adequate preparation before the battle. 'The greatest factor of success in my opinion was the fighting spirit of the men tempered by discipline, developed by training, and enhanced by the confidence in themselves and their officers created by a year of unbroken success.'

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CHAPTER IV. 1918

SECTION 1. THE OVERSEAS MILITARY FORCES OF CANADA, 1918

BEFORE passing on to treat of the Canadian Corps in 1918 it may be well to refer here to the various 'side-shows' on which Canadians were engaged during that year. A certain number of Canadian troops were placed at the disposal of the Imperial authorities for duty in various areas. The bridging party (256 all ranks) sent from the Canadian Railway Troops in September to Palestine has been already mentioned. Another party of 15 officers and 27 N.C.O.'s was sent early in the year to Mesopotamia, where they formed part of the 'Dunster Force', helping in the training of native troops. The largest party of these detached bodies was that which went to Northern Russia in September to assist against the Bolshevist forces. Its total strength was 604, the bulk consisting of a Brigade of Field Artillery, which served with the Dvina Column operating from Archangel, while smaller detachments did special work of various kinds at Archangel and in the Murman Peninsula. The Archangel forces were under a commander well known to the Canadians, Major-Gen. E. Ironside, who had been G.S.O. 1, of the 4th Canadian Division.

The 16th Brigade C.F.A. was organized from volunteers from the Artillery Reserves in England and went to Archangel under Colonel C. H. L. Sharman. It arrived there on October 1st, was immediately sent up country, and spent a strenuous winter operating in two columns along the Dvina and Vaga Rivers. Conditions here were entirely different from anything experienced in France. The long lines of communication were always liable to be cut. Each battery had machine guns and Lewis guns and every man had a rifle. Before the Canadians had been a month in the country an occasion arose when every officer and man on the Brigade Head-quarters was doing outpost duty, with the Medical, Veterinary and Dental Officers in charge of patrols. The gunners with the Vaga column especially had a most trying time, having to retire for a distance of over

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60 miles in temperature that sometimes sank to 40 below zero, holding desperately to position after position, and receiving little help from the Russian units who were with them. The Dvina column after an initial retirement of 10 miles managed to hold its position till June 1919, when the whole force was brought back to England. In all the fighting on both rivers the Canadians distinguished themselves, and their determination and resourcefulness did much to save a very unsatisfactory situation from developing into a bad defeat.

Another Canadian force organized in 1918 was a body of about 4,000 all ranks sent to Vladivostok towards the close of the year. Recruiting for the Siberian Expeditionary Force, for which Canada was asked to raise the bulk of the British contingent, was begun in August ; and the Canadian force was put under command of Major-Gen. J. H. Elmsley, late of the 8th Brigade. It consisted of all branches of the service except cavalry, and the advanced party arrived at Vladivostok on October 25th. After the Armistice it was found difficult to secure volunteers to make up the required strength and the enrolling of drafted men caused some feeling. The force spent most of its time in camp near Vladivostok, and only a portion of the artillery and some of the infantry reached the fighting front. In May and June 1919 the men were brought back to Canada.

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No account of Canada's share in the war would be complete without reference to the part played by Canadian flyers in the Air Forces. As they held commissions in the Royal Air Force the story of their exploits belongs to the history of that Force and the bodies out of which it developed. Altogether the very large number of over 8,000 Canadians held commissions in the Air Services during the war ; and many of them, notably the two famous 'aces' Lieut.-Col. W. A. Bishop, V.C., and Lieut.-Col. W. G. Barker, V.C., won high distinction. In 1918 a separate Canadian Air Force was being organized, entirely staffed by and composed of Canadians, but the signing of the Armistice prevented the development of this new branch of Canadian war service.[1]

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[1] A Canadian Tank Corps was also organized in 1918, and one battalion was ready to cross to France at the time when the Armistice was signed.

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The year 1917 had been a wonderful year of success for the Canadian Corps. From Vimy to Passchendaele its troops had been fed on victory. Long co-operation with one another in winning battles, combined with the consciousness of being all Canadians, had developed in them a strong feeling of *esprit de corps*. Unbroken success, too, had bred in all ranks an unquestioning confidence that no task could be set which they were not capable of accomplishing.

The experience of 1917, however, had also made clear certain flaws in the machinery, which were remedied before the Corps entered upon its 1918 campaign. So far the establishments for most Canadian units had been based on the British pattern, but 1917 had shown that certain services needed strengthening. 'The Engineers and Machine Guns in particular were not able to accomplish their tasks in battle without drawing heavily on the infantry for additional personnel—the more severe the battle, the more severe were the losses suffered by the infantry, and at the same time the more men required by the Engineers and Machine Guns.' [1]

Accordingly these two services were reorganized during the first half of 1918. To carry out the work of the Engineers, one Engineer brigade was formed for each division, consisting of three Engineer battalions (establishment 1,036, all ranks) and a Bridging Transport section. Into the new brigades were absorbed the three Field Companies of each division, the various Pioneer battalions and Tunnelling companies, and the Engineers of the 5th Division. An Engineer Motor Transport Company was also formed, and the general result was an increase of 4,000 in the Engineer strength of the Corps.

The machine gun strength was increased to an even greater degree. A Canadian Machine Gun Corps, under Brig.-Gen. R. Brutinel, came into being with a battalion for each division (establishment 1,564, all ranks). Each battalion consisted of three companies, each with four batteries of eight guns, making a total of 96 machine guns in a division. In addition, the motor branch of the machine guns was reorganized into two Canadian Motor Machine Gun Brigades of 40 guns each. The additional personnel for the second of these brigades was found by absorbing the Sifton, Yukon, Borden, and Eaton batteries,

[1] *Interim Report on the Operations of the Canadian Corps during the Year 1918*, by Sir A. W. Currie.

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which had been with the Corps for varying periods since 1915, and by absorbing also the machine gunners of the 5th Division. As with the engineers, a Machine Gun Corps Motor Transport Company was also formed.

A third great change was an increase in the strength of the infantry battalions, bringing the establishment up to 998, all ranks, with an overposting of 100 more. This was carried out in order to make possible a platoon fighting strength of about 40, considered to be the largest number which one officer could handle effectually and also the lowest number compatible with the platoon's being what it was supposed to be, a self-sufficient tactical force provided with all the infantry weapons of rifle, rifle-grenade, bomb, and Lewis gun.

These changes and increases in strength were only made possible by a liberal supply of reinforcements from Canada and England, and they were possible only in the Canadian Corps of all the British forces. Outside of the Canadians a reorganization in the opposite direction was taking place. To keep up the number of British Divisions, in face of the shortage of reinforcements, the number of battalions in each had to be reduced by one per brigade, from four to three. A similar course was proposed for the Canadians and it was to go hand in hand with the creation of an additional Canadian Corps. The 5th Division was still waiting in England and on the new basis, if its troops were brought out to France, two Corps of three divisions each could be formed. General Currie was strongly opposed to this proposal, which had little to recommend it from the Canadian point of view. Apart from the fact that all experience was in favour of stronger battalions, brigades, and divisions, instead of weaker, the change would have involved the creation of six new Brigade Staffs, two new Divisional Staffs, and one new Corps Staff at least, meaning a heavy strain on the supply of trained Staff Officers. Above all it would have broken up the existing Corps, whose traditions and associations contributed so much to its striking force. Against these considerations the value of uniformity with the rest of the British forces was not allowed to prevail, and the project was dropped. The 5th Division, as such, was disbanded except its artillery, which had already crossed to France in August 1917. The members of its other services came out gradually as needed and took their place in one or other of the four old divisions. But

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it must in fairness be admitted that the difference between the Canadian and British establishments and organization in 1918 made co-operation, interchange, and relief more difficult than had been the case before, and also, when estimating the successes of the Corps during the Hundred Days, it must be borne in mind that they were won by a force much superior in numbers to any parallel British unit. This in no way detracts from the greatness of Canadian achievement in the last stages of the war.

COMPOSITION OF THE CORPS DURING THE HUNDRED DAYS IN 1918

Corps Commander—Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. W. Currie.
B.G.G.S.—Brig.-Gen. N. W. Webber (succeeded in October by Brig.-Gen. R. J. F. Hayter).
D.A. and Q.M.G.—Brig.-Gen. G. J. Farmar.
G.O.C. Artillery—Major-Gen. E. W. B. Morrison.
G.O.C. Corps Heavy Artillery—Brig.-Gen. R. H. Massie.
G.O.C. Engineers—Major-Gen. W. B. Lindsay.
G.O.C. Machine Gun Corps—Brig.-Gen. R. Brutinel.
5th Divisional Artillery—Brig.-Gen. W. Dodds.

1st Division.

G.O.C.—Major-Gen. A. C. Macdonell.
Divisional Artillery—Brig.-Gen. H. C. Thacker.
1st Brigade Can. Engineers—Colonel A. Macphail.
1st Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. W. A. Griesbach.
Battalions: 1st (West. Ont.), 2nd (East. Ont.), 3rd (Toronto Regt., 1st Cent. Ont.), 4th (1st Cent. Ont.).
2nd Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis (succeeded in September by Lieut.-Col. W. F. Gilson, and on October 6th by Brig.-Gen. R. P. Clark).
Battalions: 5th (Sask.), 7th (B.C.), 8th (Winnipeg Rifles, Man.), 10th (Alta.).
3rd Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. G. S. Tuxford.
Battalions: 13th (Royal Highlanders, Que.), 14th (Royal Montreal Regt., Que.), 15th (48th Highlanders, 1st Cent. Ont.), 16th (Canadian Scottish).

2nd Division.

G.O.C.—Major-Gen. Sir H. E. Burstall.
Divisional Artillery—Brig.-Gen. H. A. Panet.

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2nd Brigade Can. Engineers—Colonel S. H. Osler.

4th Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. R. Rennie (succeeded in September by Brig.-Gen. G. E. McCuaig from the 13th Battalion).

Battalions: 18th (West. Ont.), 19th (1st Cent. Ont.), 20th (1st Cent. Ont.), 21st (East. Ont.).

5th Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. J. M. Ross (wounded August 9th, succeeded by Brig.-Gen. T. L. Tremblay from the 22nd Battalion).

Battalions: 22nd (French Canadian, Que.), 24th (Victoria Rifles, Que.), 25th (N.S.), 26th (N.B.).

6th Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. A. H. Bell (succeeded October 2nd by Brig.-Gen. A. Ross from the 28th Battalion).

Battalions: 27th (Man.), 28th (Sask.), 29th (B.C.), 31st (Alta.).

3rd Division.

G.O.C.—Major-Gen. L. J. Lipsett (succeeded September 15th by Major-Gen. Sir F. O. W. Loomis).

Divisional Artillery—Brig.-Gen. J. S. Stewart.

3rd Brigade Can. Engineers—Colonel H. F. Hertzberg.

7th Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. H. M. Dyer (succeeded September 12th by Brig.-Gen. J. A. Clark from the 72nd Battalion).

Battalions: R.C.R. (N.S.), P.P.C.L.I. (East. Ont.), 42nd (Royal Highlanders, Que.), 49th (Edmonton, Alta.).

8th Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. D. C. Draper (from the 5th C.M.R.).

Battalions: 1st (C.M.R.) (Sask.), 2nd C.M.R. (1st Cent. Ont.), 4th C.M.R. (1st Cent. Ont.), 5th C.M.R. (Que.).

9th Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. D. M. Ormond (from the 10th Battalion).

Battalions: 43rd (Cameron Highlanders, Man.), 52nd (Man.), 58th (2nd Cent. Ont.), 116th (2nd Cent. Ont.).

4th Division.

G.O.C.—Major-Gen. Sir D. Watson.

Divisional Artillery—Brig.-Gen. W. B. M. King.

4th Brigade Can. Engineers—Colonel H. T. Hughes.

10th Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. R. J. F. Hayter (succeeded October 28th by Brig.-Gen. J. M. Ross).

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Battalions: 44th (N.B.)[1], 46th (Sask.), 47th (West. Ont.), 50th (Calgary, Alta.).

11th Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. V. W. Odlum.

Battalions: 54th (2nd Cent. Ont.), 75th (1st Cent. Ont.), 87th (Can. Grenadier Guards, Que.), 102nd (2nd Cent. Ont.).

12th Infantry Brigade—Brig.-Gen. J. H. MacBrien.

Battalions: 38th (Ottawa, East. Ont.), 72nd (Seaforth Highlanders, B.C.), 78th (Winnipeg Grenadiers, Man.), 85th (Nova Scotia Highlanders, N.S.).

SECTION 2. JANUARY TO JULY

After Passchendaele the Canadian Corps returned to its old Vimy front and settled down for the winter, holding the line from Acheville to Loos, a length of about 13,000 yards. The winter of 1917–18 was for all the British forces a period of strenuous preparation against the expected German offensive in the spring, and holding the front which protected the vital northern coal-fields of France the Canadians were under a special obligation to make it secure. Here a shallow advance by the enemy would have been disastrous to the Allies and the Corps constructed during the winter an elaborate system of defences. Altogether, in addition to existing trenches and positions which were strengthened and improved, there were built 250 miles of trench, 300 miles of barbed wire entanglement and 200 tunnelled machine gun emplacements. As far as engineering could do it the Vimy front was made impregnable.

When the German attack came on March 21st against the southern end of the British line, its initial success speedily produced a crisis which called for all available reserves. The first Canadian unit to be used was the 1st Motor Machine Gun Brigade (Lieut.-Col. W. K. Walker), whose batteries within 24 hours had been withdrawn from the Vimy line, transferred to the Fifth Army area, east of Amiens 100 miles away, and were in action there on a frontage of some 35 miles.

'The 1st C.M.M.G. Brigade, under orders of the Fifth and later of the Fourth Army, was ordered to fight a rear-guard

[1] An adjustment of the territorial affiliations of some of the infantry units was made in 1918 so as to bring the number of battalions in the field from any one province into proportion with the number of recruits from the province.

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action to delay the advance of the enemy and to fill dangerous gaps on the army fronts. For 19 days that unit was continuously in action north and south of the Somme, fighting against overwhelming odds. Using to the utmost its great mobility it fought over 200 square miles of territory. . . . . The losses suffered amounted to about 75 per cent. of the trench strength of the unit.'[1] The five batteries of the brigade were everywhere. From Clery on the Somme to Roye on the Avre the armoured cars and motors were in and out where the fighting was thickest, and up to April 8th they fought with hardly any rest until the retirement was brought to a stop on the line Villers-Bretonneux–Hangard.

As the black days followed one another after March 21st, General Currie found his Corps being broken up and its divisions transferred to other commands to meet the exigencies of the situation, the 1st and 2nd to the Third Army, and the 3rd and 4th to different Corps of the First Army. This meant the loss of that solidarity which had been one of the great factors in past successes. Strong protests were made, and as a result, the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Divisions were finally brought back to Canadian control, and the Corps, by a shifting of boundaries, became responsible for the front from the Scarpe to the Souchez.

On April 9th came the German attack on the Lys front to the north which produced a fresh crisis. The Canadian Corps, to release other troops, took over the trenches as far north as Loos, holding with three divisions the great length of 29,000 yards. The 2nd Division, still with the Third Army, was at the same time holding a front of 6,000 yards, making a total for which Canadian troops were responsible of about 20 miles, or one-fifth of the whole British front. On this extended line they remained through April until at length the 1st, 3rd, and 4th were relieved during the first week of May. They now went back for intensive training in open warfare offensive tactics.

The 2nd Division farther south remained on duty for two months yet and did not get any rest until the 3rd Division was sent up to take its place on July 1st. It spent its long tour of 92 days in the line in carrying out a strenuous programme of 'active defence'. In all, 27 raids were carried out, two of which penetrated over 1,000 yards into the enemy lines. This

[1] Interim Report, 1918.

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naturally caused casualties but the losses from the raids were less than the actual number of prisoners taken; and the division was able to report that during the three months it reduced two enemy divisions to complete docility and inefficiency.

Not having been used in the defensive battles of March and April the Canadian Corps had a much larger proportion of seasoned men in its ranks than was the case with most of the British units, when on July 15th it came back into the line, relieving the XVIIth Corps in front of Arras. The front held extended from Telegraph Hill to Oppy and the Canadians, most of them fresh from a long period of rest and training, quickly made it active. In particular, preparations were begun for an attack on Orange Hill. It was announced that tanks would be used and demonstrations in the co-operation of tanks and infantry were given. Both Canadians and Germans were led to believe that an offensive here was impending, when on July 20th General Currie was secretly informed that the Corps was to be used in a surprise attack on the front of the Fourth Army to the South. On July 18th General Foch's great offensive, which was to have such marvellous results, had already begun on the Marne.

SECTION 3. AMIENS

On July 17th plans for an attack in front of Amiens had been submitted by General Rawlinson of the Fourth Army. An advance in this area would relieve the pressure on Amiens itself, secure the junction of the British and French forces, and free the important Allied lateral line of communication, the Amiens–Paris railway. The state of the enemy defences also made the sector favourable for an offensive. Since their great spring attack the Germans had done little digging or wiring on their front, which they held with short lengths of trench and machine gun nests. Moreover, after three months of aggressive attentions by the Australians, the morale of their divisions in the line was distinctly bad. Everything combined to commend the chances of a sudden ambitious attack. The open undulating ground, not cut up by trenches or by shell holes, was ideal for cavalry and tanks who might be used to exploit to the utmost any initial success. The Fourth Army scheme proposed to take

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advantage of all these factors and attempt an unprecedented penetration into the enemy front.

The plan was to overrun the German defences in a surprise attack as far as the Amiens outer defence line of 1916, which, south of the Somme, ran on the far side of Le Quesnel, Caix, Harbonnières and Méricourt-sur-Somme. This meant an average advance of about eight miles. General Foch approved of the proposal and later, during the first week of August when preparations were well under way, enlarged the scope of the operation. The First French Army had already been placed under Sir Douglas Haig to extend the front of attack to the south, on the right of the Amiens–Roye road; and now the French forces farther south were to strike also if the initial blow was successful; while the Fourth British Army was to push on as quickly as possible to the Roye–Chaulnes line with the ultimate object of making good the line of the Somme River beyond.

The Canadian Corps was to act as the right wing of the Fourth Army and the spear-head of the whole attack. Its line of advance lay between the Amiens–Roye road and the Amiens–Chaulnes railway on a frontage of 7,500 yards which gradually widened out as it moved forward. On its right the First French Army was to advance slightly to its rear and on its left the Australian Corps was to carry the attack as far north as the Somme. North of the river the Third Corps was to protect the left flank of the whole advance, the total front of which extended for about 20,000 yards.

The essence of the operation was surprise and most elaborate precautions were taken. As the Canadians were fresh and had not been engaged so far in the 1918 fighting, their appearance on any front would be a signal to the enemy of an impending offensive; their real movements had therefore to be kept secret. By July 27th, while they were still in the line in front of Arras, the general boundaries and objectives of the attack had been fixed. On July 29th, when orders were issued for their relief by the XVIIth Corps, they stated that the Canadian Corps was to be prepared to move north to the Second Army area. Two battalions, the 4th C.M.R. and the 27th, were actually sent north and put into the line in front of Kemmel, where they were identified by the enemy. The wireless sets of all four divisions accompanied them and began to buzz messages for the Germans

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to pick up. A Casualty Clearing Station also moved to the area. The Kemmel position was an extremely important one and the enemy might naturally expect that we would try to regain it. Meanwhile the units of the Corps during the week of July 30th–August 7th were quietly transferred south and concentrated in the Amiens area. No one of the combatant troops, except the divisional and brigade commanders with their immediate staff, knew where they were going or what was on hand until they had arrived on the new front. All the necessary moves were carried out at night, and, after they had been completed, aeroplanes flew over the new area by day to report any unusual stir upon the ground.

This whole preliminary operation of transporting a Corps of four divisions across two Army fronts and of bringing up all the supplies and ammunition needed for a great battle involved a severe strain on the administrative services. Its successful carrying out was probably as fine a feat as the 'Q' branch under Brig.-Gen. G. J. Farmar ever accomplished. The D.A. and Q.M.G. was not given particulars of the move until July 29th and had little time for the innumerable arrangements which usually precede a move on a large scale. To add to the difficulties, the transfer of the Canadians was only a part of a gigantic movement which concentrated 3 cavalry divisions, 14 infantry divisions, 2,000 guns, and 450 tanks east of Amiens on a ten-mile front in little more than a week. The time limit within which everything had to be done became even more severe for the Canadians, because all traffic was practically confined to the two main roads from Amiens to Roye and to Villers-Bretonneux. But the task was accomplished; and, though some of the troops destined to go over the top did not get their battle munitions till just before zero on the last feverish night, there was no serious deficiency of anything.

To avoid accidents from raids the front trenches along the Canadian sector remained in the hands of the Australians until a few hours before zero. Behind them no reconnaissance of the forward areas by large parties was allowed. The artillery moved into their positions but did no registering, which would increase the normal firing programme. Everything possible was done to conceal the presence of new forces on the front; and on August 8th the surprise was perfect.

The front line in the Canadian sector ran across the Roye

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road at Hourges, crossed the Luce River north of the village, continued north through the west end of Hangard Wood, and then swung around to the east towards the railway beyond Villers-Bretonneux, where it passed into Australian control. Beyond it, the ground over which the attack was to be made presented some special difficulties. Generally speaking, it consisted of a high rolling plateau cut diagonally by the Luce valley. The valley itself was wooded and marshy for a width of about 200 yards and could only be crossed at certain points. On the Canadian side of the line all traffic had to be crowded into the narrow bridgehead at Domart, while on the German side the two important bridges were at Hangard and Demuin. Running out from the Luce to the north and south were a number of ravines which cut the plateau into sections. The little villages scattered over the area formed conspicuous landmarks with their gardens and orchards, in the centre of open unfenced stretches of standing grain; and they, with the numerous woods and copses, provided the main centres of resistance.

The most difficult part of the Canadian front was on the right. Here was the obstacle of the Luce; the high ground south of it completely dominated the Canadian forward area and especially the river crossing at Domart. This made the problem of assembly very difficult and steps were taken to blind the enemy on Z day by smoke. As the seizure of the bridges at Hangard and Demuin and of the high ground south of them was vital for the further advance of the cavalry and tanks, this whole operation was assigned to one division, the 3rd. The remainder of the front, rather more than half of it, was divided between the 1st and 2nd.

For the first day's attack three objectives were set, the Green, Red and Blue Dotted Lines, the last being on an average 14,000 yards beyond our jumping-off positions. Even the Green Line, the first objective, was at the extreme range of our artillery protection, and the advance beyond it had to be made without the regular barrage. To supply the deficiency a host of tanks was available and it was hoped with their help to overrun the German defences quickly before the enemy could recover from their surprise. The Red Line was sited in a favourable position for consolidation should further advance on the first day be impossible, and it was the essential objective of the day. Beyond it the Blue Dotted Line ran along the sketchy trench of

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the Amiens outer defences. If all went well the cavalry were to push on ahead of the infantry to this line and hold it until the infantry could come up. Beyond it, should the enemy be totally demoralized, they were to push to the limit of endurance of horse and man. The whole ambitious programme depended, as has been said, on the known weakness of the German divisions in the line and on the comparative absence of trenches and wire. The infantry had been thoroughly drilled in the principles of infiltration which the Germans had practised so successfully in March, and all ranks had been impressed with the fact that it was to be open warfare at last.

The Corps attacked with three divisions in the line, the 3rd, 1st, and 2nd from right to left. The 3rd, which had the widest and most difficult front, used two brigades for its initial assault, and was to go only as far as the Red Line. There the 4th was to leapfrog and continue as far as the Blue Dotted Line. The 1st and 2nd attacked on a one-brigade front and used a brigade for each of the three objectives. Each division had a battalion of tanks attached to it ; and the main task of the infantry and tanks was to capture and hold the Red Line.

Behind them as far as the Red Line was to come the 3rd Cavalry Division led by the Canadian Cavalry Brigade (Brig.-Gen. R. W. Paterson) and assisted by Whippet tanks. On the Red Line the cavalry and Whippets were to pass through the infantry and rush the Blue Dotted Line before the enemy could recover themselves. The infantry, having made good the Red Line, were then to advance to the Blue Dotted Line and take it over from the cavalry, or if the latter were held up at any point, to assist them in its capture.

To operate down the Roye road, protecting the right flank of the cavalry and keeping liaison with the French, a Canadian Independent Force was formed under Brig.-Gen. R. Brutinel of the Canadian Machine Gun Corps. It consisted of the two Motor Machine Gun Brigades, one of which had already fought over this area in March, the Corps Cyclist Battalion and a section of 6-inch Newton mortars mounted on trucks.

An advance on such a wide front and to such a depth gave special problems to the artillery. The total guns at General Morrison's disposal amounted to 17 brigades of Field Artillery and 9 brigades of Heavy Artillery with four additional batteries of long-range guns. Of these each division was assigned

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enough of the Field Artillery to provide it with an intensive barrage of one gun to every 20–30 yards as far as the Green Line; beyond this the field guns could not reach and all co-ordinated barrages were to cease at zero + 4 hours. The heavies were to continue for two hours longer to points beyond the Red Line, and they bombarded special points like Le Quesnel, Beaucourt, Caix, until the infantry reached them. In addition an attempt was made to secure a certain amount of mobility to the artillery. One Field Artillery brigade was to follow closely the advance of each division, taking on whatever targets offered; and a 60-pounder battery and one of 6-inch howitzers was to come under the control of each division as soon as the infantry reached the Green Line. The remaining guns were to push on as quickly as possible, as soon as the barrage was shot out. A similar programme was drawn up for the machine guns. The advances, however, on the first day proved to be so rapid that neither the mobile artillery nor the machine guns could keep up with the infantry and consequently they were not much used until subsequent stages.

The main reliance for assistance beyond the Green Line was placed upon the tanks. On zero night they moved forward from their concentration areas in the woods to positions about 1,000 yards behind the infantry jumping-off line. This was a risky proceeding because the noise of their engines might be heard by the enemy, but an attempt to drown it was made by bombing planes which flew up and down overhead and was almost entirely successful. Some of the enemy heard the tanks but their higher command seem to have paid no attention to any warnings received. The tanks were to start just before zero so as to advance in front of the infantry. The misty morning of August 8th interfered with this part of the programme and many of them lost their way at first, so that the infantry were ahead of them during most of the advance to the Green Line. When the mist lifted, however, and they could see where they were going, they came into full play and did magnificent work.

Tanks, artillery, cavalry, all the forces coming behind the first waves of infantry, depended largely upon the engineers for the repair of roads and bridges. This was especially true on the right, where a time-table for crossing the Luce was worked out in great detail. The engineers did everything that was asked

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of them. It is sufficient proof of the thoroughness of their preparations that the bridges at Hangard and Demuin were repaired and ready for traffic by 11 o'clock in the morning.

Zero hour was 4.20 a.m. on August 8th and the attack went forward to a brilliant success all along the line. Our barrage came down without warning in splendid force and was answered by a very ragged fire from the German guns which soon died down altogether. By the afternoon the whole of the Blue Dotted Line had been gained except a bit on the right where Le Quesnel was still holding out, and this was made good next morning. The surprise was complete and the German defences melted away. Before nightfall the Canadians had 5,000 enemy prisoners and 161 enemy guns in their hands, and had achieved an unprecedented advance for one day's fighting. The Australians on their left had done as well, capturing the whole of their objectives likewise except a small stretch along the Somme, and the French on the right were almost up in line. Every unit engaged had reason to be proud of itself.

We may now follow the fortunes of each of the Canadian divisions in more detail.

The 3rd Division on the right used its 9th and 8th Brigades on either side of the Luce, as far as the Green Line, after which the 7th passed through to the Red Line. As already mentioned, this front was an especially difficult one because of the obstacle of the unfordable Luce and of the commanding ground to the south of it. All the attacking forces had to be assembled in the small bridgehead at Domart and deployed from there ; and Domart was an obvious target for the enemy guns. But the assembly was carried out successfully and the German batteries were smothered by our own counter-batteries. The plan adopted was to crowd the 9th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. D. M. Ormond) into the bridgehead before zero and to push it across rapidly at zero to the foot of the plateau on the far side of the river, which fortunately was dead ground and gave the attackers a chance to form up before ascending the slope. Then part of the brigade was to advance frontally, while the remainder moved along the Luce under the edge of the plateau and outflanked the enemy positions. Meanwhile the 8th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. D. C. Draper) was to work along the north bank of the river and clean it up. The 9th Brigade used the 43rd, 116th, and 58th Battalions in its front waves with the 52nd in

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support and had 28 tanks to help it. The 8th Brigade had only two battalions in action, the 1st and 2nd C.M.R., the other two being in divisional reserve; and it was given 18 tanks to clear its front.

The plan of attack worked perfectly. Each unit pressed on with its own particular task and the result was that our troops had captured Demuin and were in Hamon Wood while the enemy's defences on the forward slope of the plateau were still holding out; when these found themselves outflanked, they gave in and the whole position was carried with little loss. The hardest fighting was encountered by the 43rd on the right, who had Dodo Wood as their main task. They forced an entrance to it early from the north but had not cleared it until 7.30. The other two battalions of the 9th Brigade got on more quickly and the 58th, working along the valley, were in possession of Demuin by 6 o'clock. On the right of the 43rd good work was done by an 'International Platoon' made up of 40 Frenchmen and a platoon of the Highlanders, who advanced along the Corps boundary south of Dodo Wood and then cleared Hamon Wood by themselves. Meanwhile the two battalions of the 8th Brigade made quick work of their task along the right bank of the river. The 1st C.M.R. seized Hangard and the 2nd then leapfrogged them and cleared the remainder of the ground towards Demuin, where they found the 58th were in no need of their help. On their heels came the engineers and the two important bridges were in shape before the advance from the Red Line had begun.

On the Green Line at 8.20 the 7th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. H. M. Dyer) passed through with the R.C.R., the 42nd and the 49th in front. None of the three battalions had much trouble in the further advance to the Red Line, and they were all there by 10 o'clock. On the way a platoon of the R.C.R. went across the Roye road into the French area and helped our allies in their attack on Mezières, which was giving trouble.

By this time also, once the Green Line was crossed, the Independent Force was coming into action. It pushed down the Roye road and some of its armoured cars with their machine guns joined in the international attack on Mezières. This position cleared, it went forward with the cavalry until, like them, it was held up by Le Quesnel and Fresnoy-en-Chaussée.

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The Red Line having been reached, the task of the 3rd Division for the day was finished and it became the turn of the 4th Division to take up the advance. Ahead of it went the cavalry and the tanks. A special plan had been adopted for getting some of the 4th Division's troops up quickly to the Blue Dotted Line. The Mark V Star tanks allotted to it were capable of carrying a big crew and each of them took forward one Vickers and two Lewis gun detachments complete with guns and ammunition. But of the 34 tanks which started, only six reached their destination. The enemy were waiting now with anti-tank rifles and with field guns firing point blank and many of the tanks were knocked out. The infantrymen too could not endure the fumes inside the tanks and most of the detachments had to be released into the fresh air to make their way forward on foot.

The cavalry immediately on passing through the Red Line came under fire from Beaucourt. The units here were the Canadian Cavalry Brigade and Beaucourt was not taken until the R.C.D.'s dismounted and attacked on foot. Meanwhile the Strathconas worked past it on the south and attacked Le Quesnel but could make no headway against the German machine guns. One of the squadrons going outside of Corps boundaries galloped into Fresnoy-en-Chaussée in the French area, capturing 150 prisoners whom they managed to take with them when the Germans attacking in turn compelled them to retire.

By this time the 4th Division passing the Red Line at 12.40 was coming up, its 11th and 12th Brigades in line. The 11th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. V. W. Odlum) on the right ran into fire from Beaucourt Wood immediately on emerging from Beaucourt village and its 54th and 102nd Battalions had heavy fighting before they cleared it. The 75th then came up on their right and the three advanced together towards Le Quesnel, which still defied the cavalry. The country here was open and flat and completely commanded by the German positions in the village, and in front of the village towards evening the 11th Brigade was definitely held up. It was decided to leave Le Quesnel for a fresh attack at dawn and August 8th came to a close with this part of the Blue Dotted Line alone not in our possession. Next morning at 4.30 the 75th attacked again and captured the village. They and the 87th then went on

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and cleaned up the remainder of the Blue Dotted Line, and by 11 o'clock it was free for the next stage in the advance.

While the 11th Brigade was thus fighting its way slowly forward on the afternoon of the 8th, the 12th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. J. H. MacBrien) on the left was meeting with better success. There was a sharp fight at the start with some machine guns near Beaucourt Wood and it took a combination of the 78th infantry, 4 or 5 tanks, some 18-pounders, and a 6-inch trench mortar to settle them; but the combination was entirely successful. Here Lieut. J. E. Tait of the 78th won the V.C. for the skill and dash with which he led his company, disposing of one machine gun single-handed and rounding up 12 others with the help of his men. After this fight the remaining units of the brigade had little trouble in reaching their final objective and by 6.15 they were in possession of the Blue Dotted Line. The 4th Division, in spite of its check in front of Le Quesnel, had a fine achievement to its credit. Its men had covered 10 miles that day from their assembly positions and they had the stiffest opposition to meet in the later stages of their advance.

In the centre of the Corps attack the 1st Division used the 3rd Brigade as far as the Green Line, the 1st to the Red Line, and the 2nd to the Blue Dotted Line. The 3rd Brigade (Brig.-Gen. G. S. Tuxford), advancing with the 16th, 13th, and 14th Battalions and 22 tanks, met its chief resistance from the enemy trenches on the far side of Hangard Wood, the Amiens inner defence line. These formed the German main line of resistance and covered their battery positions, and here the defenders fought to a finish. On the left the 14th Battalion had some particularly hard fighting both against the trench line and against Morgemont Wood in front of it, and the 3rd Battalion of the 1st Brigade following closely behind became engaged as well as the 18th of the 2nd Division to the north before the situation was cleared up. The 13th on the right also had trouble from machine gun posts and two of its men, Corporal H. J. Good and Pte. J. B. Croak, won V.C.'s on this morning by their courage and dash in attack. The Brigade was not to be stopped, however, and reached the Green Line strictly up to time. From here the 1st Brigade (Brig.-Gen. W. A. Griesbach) carried on the advance with the 2nd, 4th, and 3rd Battalions. Twelve of the 22 tanks were still left from the advance to the

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Green Line and these reinforced the six allotted to the 1st Brigade. Its main objective was the village of Cayeux and the 4th Battalion carried this in fine style by working up to it under cover of the river bank and then rushing it. The 2nd Brigade (Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis) then passed through, advancing with the 7th and 10th Battalions in front, and found hardly any opposition all the way to the Blue Dotted Line. The cavalry here had gone ahead and were already in possession of Caix when the infantry arrived. So smooth was the advance that the 7th Battalion reported its whole march from the concentration area to the final objective as having taken place without a casualty.

Meanwhile the 2nd Division on the left of the Corps front was carrying on its attack with equal success. To its 4th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. R. Rennie), the 18th and 19th Battalions leading with 28 tanks assisting them, was assigned the task of making good the Green Line including the important village of Marcelcave. The 19th met with some resistance from the German main trench line which was dealt with effectively by the help of the tanks, and the 18th, as already related, joined in the fight for Morgemont Wood. But by 6 o'clock the leading waves had reached Marcelcave, and when the guns lifted off the village parties of the 19th and 21st rushed it from the north and west. By 7 o'clock it was in our hands and the Brigade went on to the Green Line.

The 5th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. J. M. Ross) then passed on to the Red Line 5,000 yards farther in advance. Most of its fighting was against isolated machine gun posts scattered through the grain fields and in the little woods and copses. In this work the tanks assisted greatly though they suffered heavy casualties now that the morning mist had lifted. The two main objectives of the Brigade were the villages of Wiencourt and Guillaucourt, and by 2 o'clock not only had both of these been cleared but the Red Line beyond them was in Canadian hands. The advance from here fell to the 6th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. A. H. Bell), which, like the 2nd Brigade on the right, had little trouble in following up the cavalry. Before 6 o'clock its men were on the Blue Dotted Line, where the outposts of the 29th on the left were in touch with the enemy. Elsewhere along the front patrols were pushing far forward without opposition and the cavalry had gone on towards Rosières.

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The day's fighting therefore had brought a glorious success to Canadian arms. August 8th was a day with which no previous achievement in the Corps history could be compared. The Canadians had come straight into a strange area and had taken part in the largest day's advance which British forces had yet made. Everywhere their full objectives had been won except on the right, where Le Quesnel still resisted. 'The manner in which the Canadian Corps, in spite of the short time it had had for preparation and of the difficulties it had to overcome on its right, carried out the task allotted to it on August 8th will always rank as one of the finest performances accomplished by this famous Corps during the great War.'[1]

The next few days had stiffer work ahead.

On August 9th the attack was resumed by the 3rd, 1st, and 2nd Divisions with the general objective of the Bouchoir–Rouvroy–Méharicourt road. The fighting on this day was of a more disjointed nature because of the difficulties of keeping up communications after the tremendous advance of the previous day. Each division had its own special troubles in moving forward supplies and troops and no co-ordinated attack proved practicable. Most of the artillery was still not far enough forward. The tanks, after a strenuous day's work, were somewhat disorganized and no detailed plans for co-operation between them and the infantry could be made. The cavalry, who were to have continued in front exploiting success, soon found the enemy resistance too stiff and had to drop back, so that the day became one of more or less independent actions by the various infantry brigades with the help of what tanks they could collect. Divisional boundaries had also been re-adjusted overnight and this involved considerable lateral movement. The result was that none of the attacking forces except the 6th Brigade on the left got off before noon.

The 3rd Division used the 8th Brigade for its front, which included the area immediately north of the Roye road with the villages of Folies, Bouchoir, and Le Quesnoy. Passing through the 4th Division, who first of all cleared Le Quesnel and the remainder of the Blue Dotted Line to give them a good jumping-off line, the 4th and 5th C.M.R. reached Folies by 4.20 and an hour later were in possession of Bouchoir. They had seven tanks to help them. Farther than Bouchoir they

[1] Major-Gen. Sir A. Montgomery, *The Fourth Army in the Hundred Days.*

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could not go as the French south of them were held up all day by Arvillers. Some of the 5th C.M.R. and a tank went out of their boundaries against the village and assisted their allies in carrying it. By this time it was too late to go farther and the line was established for the night east of Bouchoir.

As the 3rd Division front had been narrowed, that of the 1st was widened, and its task was complicated by the necessity of side-stepping to the south, completely off the front of August 8th. This caused delay and the 1st and 2nd Brigades who were doing the attack were not able to start till 1 p.m. Their objectives were the villages of Beaufort, Warvillers, and Rouvroy. The 1st Brigade on the right jumped off from the line captured by the 4th Division on the previous day and moved on Beaufort with its 1st and 2nd Battalions. Both units had heavy fighting before they had worked through the village, as had the 3rd and 4th in taking Rouvroy beyond it. But by 9 in the evening the whole of the Brigade's objectives were in its hands.

The 2nd Brigade was still holding the Blue Dotted Line with its 7th and 10th Battalions when it was ordered to sideslip for 2,500 yards and make a new attack towards Warvillers. As the units in the line could not be disengaged until relieved by the 2nd Division, the 5th and 8th Battalions were sent off with the 14th and 15th from the 3rd Brigade supporting them. They had to advance without artillery or tank support and only made progress by hard and brilliant fighting. The quality of their day's work is best shown by the fact that it gained three V.C.'s for the brigade, all won by attacks on machine guns. Sergt. R. L. Zengel of the 5th, Corpl. F. G. Coppins and L.-Corpl. A. Brereton of the 8th, all distinguished themselves by their reckless daring in rushing machine guns which were taking toll of their comrades and materially helped in bringing the attack of the day to a successful issue.

Farther to the north the 2nd Division took over 1,500 yards of additional frontage for its attack. The 5th Brigade was brought up and given the new front alongside of the 6th on its left. As it could not arrive in time for the zero hour set, 10 a.m., the 6th started by itself. It had the protection of only a very thin barrage and both its flanks were in the air. On the left, north of the railway, the 5th Australian Division was awaiting relief, but when the relief did not arrive its men very

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gallantly attacked to protect the Canadian flank. The dominating point here was the high ground about Lihons on the Australian front and before it the advance was stopped. The 29th and 31st Battalions, who were carrying on the attack for the 6th Brigade, were punished severely by enfilade machine gun fire, and an hour after they had started the whole 'show' was reported 'a bit sticky'. But they persisted in spite of losses and in the end not only took Rosières, which had defied the cavalry, but advanced their line to the east of it. Next morning, as the Brigade was waiting for relief, it was able to repay its debt to the Australians. The 27th went forward in touch with them, and fought its way over a mile of ground before the 4th Division troops caught up with it.

Meanwhile the 5th Brigade, coming on later in the day with the 25th and 22nd in front, had to fight its way forward from one machine-gun post to another. The enemy made a stand in Vrely, which was only taken after a brilliant attack on a machine-gun nest in its northern end led by Lieut. J. Brilliant of the French-Canadians. His rush netted 150 prisoners and 15 machine guns and his wonderful leadership during the two days of the 8th and 9th won for him the V.C. After Vrely was clear the Brigade went on and by 5.30 it was 500 yards east of Méharicourt, where the line was established for the night.

Along the whole Corps front the fighting on the 9th had been much more severe than that on the 8th; the plan had necessarily been less prearranged; and the difficulties of the infantry with only a few tanks available and very little gunfire to support them were much greater. Yet an advance of more than three miles had been made against persistent and skilful machine gunners. This, on the second day of a battle, was by any standard a good day's work, no less creditable, if less brilliant, than that of the previous day.

The advance was now bound to slow down. We were approaching the area of the old 1916 trenches. The ground was cut up by the intricate system of trench and wire which had formed the German defences in front of Roye, and open warfare tactics were becoming impossible. The enemy were recovering also from the disaster of the 8th, and, as events proved, were prepared to make a stubborn stand. It was imperative, however, to continue pressure in the hope that after two such days as the 8th and 9th resistance might break down;

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and for the 10th, the general objective of the line from Roye to Chaulnes was set.

As the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Divisions had now been engaged steadily for two days, it was arranged that the attack should be continued on the 10th by the Thirty-second and the 4th Divisions. The former had been placed at General Currie's disposal on the previous day. To afford a good jumping-off line on the right, the 3rd Division was first of all to clear Le Quesnoy before the Thirty-second took over from it. At 4.20 the 2nd C.M.R. set out on this task accompanied by four tanks, and by 7.30 they had complete possession of the village. With the help of the 1st C.M.R. they then worked up the trenches to the north, and at 10 o'clock the Thirty-second Division was able to pass through on its attack towards Damery and Parvillers.

The attacking battalions of the Thirty-second were able to make but little progress. They pushed their way to the western outskirts of the two villages, but here after fighting all day and suffering heavily were held up. The Canadian Cavalry Brigade, which was endeavouring to assist them on the right along the Roye road, was equally unsuccessful. Optimistic but erroneous reports of enemy demoralization had induced the higher command to seek once more the long-sought for break-through by the cavalry. A squadron of the Fort Garry Horse attempted to rush the Bois-en-Z south of Damery at the highest point on the Roye road. Wire on each side of the road hemmed them in and they were met by a withering fire. Not a man reached the wood and hardly any survivors came back. In the face of strongly-entrenched machine-gun posts, cavalry were once more proved useless, and after the general failure of the 10th the horsemen were withdrawn.

While on the right the advance was practically brought to a stop, the 4th Division on the left was able to push forward for a considerable distance. Its two brigades in the line, the 10th and 12th, advanced at 10.15 with 19 tanks supporting them. Like the Thirty-second Division they were confronted by the old enemy trench system, now overgrown with grass, and forming an admirable basis for a stubborn resistance; and their day's fighting proved an unwelcome reversion to trench warfare.

The 44th attacking on the right of the 10th Brigade were stopped by uncut wire in front of Fouquescourt. It was not till 5 in the afternoon, after a second attack supported by

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fresh artillery and tanks, that they were able to clear the village, and the 47th who attempted then to pass through them were definitely brought to a stop. By this time the 46th on their left had taken Maucourt and the 50th had gone on to the railway west of Hallu. Meanwhile on the 12th Brigade front the 72nd captured Chilly before 1 p.m. and the 78th in a rush went on through Hallu, which was in their hands by 2 o'clock. But the 85th and 38th on the left found the going very hard because of machine guns sweeping them from the north from Lihons. Only after stubborn and determined fighting could they clear the country as far as the Chilly-Lihons road, where they consolidated their line for the night.

The general result of the 4th Division's attack on the 10th was therefore to give us Hallu in the centre, held by the 78th with both flanks exposed, and behind it a line in front of Fouquescourt and Chilly. The enemy showed their reviving spirits by a counter-attack during the evening against the 78th, and next morning both the 78th and 50th had to meet heavy assaults. Hallu was abandoned and after severe punishment all day the railway line was also given up. Just east of Chilly a new line was established and consolidated. The fighting on the 11th was defensive, and the orders which had been given to push on to the Somme were cancelled when it was seen that the enemy were in strength. On the 11th also the Thirty-second Division had to meet counter-attacks, and the day's events convinced the Corps Commander that there was nothing to be gained by continuing our attacks at present in face of the heavy losses which must ensue. During the night of the 11th/12th the Thirty-second and 4th Divisions were relieved by the 3rd and 2nd respectively.

As an operation of major importance the Battle of Amiens had now come to an end. The first impetus of the attack was over and for the moment the advance was halted until preparations could be made for another general attack on a broad front like that of the 8th. The fight was degenerating into trench warfare, and Sir Arthur Currie was already suggesting that the Canadians should be taken out and used for another surprise attack on a different front. The higher commands were also considering the advisability of leaving the Fourth Army to mark time until an attack north of the Somme should turn the enemy line south of it. But it was necessary to continue to

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exert pressure and to prevent the enemy from regaining the initiative, which seemed to be their object, as judged by their increased artillery fire and their counter-attacks.

For the next four days, therefore, from the 12th to the 15th, the 3rd Division engaged in a continuous struggle to take the strong positions of Parvillers and Damery, which had held up the Thirty-second. The brigades in the line were the 9th on the right and the 7th on the left, and seldom had they been faced by a more serious obstacle. From Fouquescourt southward ran a trench system over a mile deep. The two villages in the midst of it were each perched on slight eminences and were supported by the villages of Goyencourt and Fresnoy-lez-Roye behind, as well as by the Bois-en-Z on the Roye road. From the enemy positions the western approaches could be swept by frontal and oblique fire, as the experience of the Thirty-second Division had shown. Frontal attack having proved too costly, General Lipsett decided to absorb the position by cutting-out operations from the flanks.

On August 12th the 42nd assembled just south of Fouquescourt in the area captured by the 4th Division and proceeded to bomb down the trench lines towards Parvillers. This initiated four days of almost continuous hand-to-hand fighting. The P.P.C.L.I. at the same time tried to make their way in along the spur south of Parvillers which separated it from Damery. Here they met at first with little success, for a counter-attack on the 13th deprived them of most of their gains. But on the 14th the 7th Brigade attacked again, and the 49th, who had taken over the fight from the 42nd, succeeded in joining up with the P.P.C.L.I. on the eastern side of Parvillers. A fierce counter-attack followed from east, south, and north. The two front companies of the P.P.C.L.I., fighting back to back, were slowly driven in. But at midnight the R.C.R. entered the struggle, and after fighting which went on most of the night, the eastern edge of the village was finally made good and held. This strenuous and bitter warfare gained two V.C.'s for the Brigade, one won by Pte. T. Dineson of the 42nd and one by Sergt. R. Spall of the P.P.C.L.I.

The 116th and the 52nd Battalions of the 9th Brigade had been feeling their way towards Damery at the same time. On the 15th the patrols of the 52nd suddenly discovered the village to be free, and the battalion quickly pushed through to a line on

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the far side. That afternoon they had to meet a counter-attack by a whole German regiment, and with the help of the guns inflicted very heavy casualties. They held their ground, took 200 prisoners, and estimated that 600 killed or wounded fell in front of them. After this Damery and Parvillers were unquestionably ours. The Canadian position now outflanked the Bois-en-Z on the Roye road and made it untenable, so that the enemy were forced to give up this ground also to a French attack and thus lost the whole line of their defences in front of Roye.

This marked almost the limit of the Canadian advance. On the 16th the 2nd Division took Fransart and pushed on to the railway west of Hallu, where the 4th Division had been on the 10th, but the latter advanced position was again given up as the flanks were exposed. Next morning, the 17th, the 1st Division secured La Chavette after being held up the day before, and on the 19th the 4th Division, which had relieved the 2nd, effected a slight improvement in the line east of Chilly. On this day the 2nd and 3rd Divisions began their move back to the Arras front, on the 22nd the Canadian Corps handed over its front to the Australians, and the Battle of Amiens was at an end. Farther to the north the Third Army had already began the next stage in the Allied plan by its attack towards Bapaume.

Considered from the point of view of ground gained and enemy divisions defeated, the two weeks in front of Amiens undoubtedly gave the Canadian Corps its most striking success. 'Between August 8 and 22, the Canadian Corps fought against 15 German divisions; of these 10 were directly and thoroughly defeated, prisoners being captured from almost every one of their battalions; the five other divisions, fighting astride our flanks, were only partially engaged by us. In the same period the Canadian Corps captured 9,131 prisoners, 190 guns of all calibres, and more than 1,000 machine guns and trench mortars. The greatest depth penetrated approximated to 14 miles, and an area of over 67 square miles containing 27 towns and villages had been liberated. The casualties suffered by the Canadian Corps in the 14 days' heavy fighting amounted to 579 officers, 10,783 other ranks. Considering the number of German divisions engaged and the results achieved, the casualties were very light.' [1]

[1] Sir Arthur Currie, *Interim Report on the Operations of the Canadian Corps during the Year 1918.*

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Even greater was the moral effect of the battle, as was to be abundantly proved in the next two months. The Germans definitely lost the initiative which had been theirs since the spring, and the 'black day' of August 8th did more than any other single event to weaken their will to resist. For that the men from Overseas were largely responsible.

While their attack had resulted in a brilliant success, it had also been a large-scale experiment in fresh methods. The use of the element of surprise, a main factor in which was the introduction of the Canadian Corps into the new front, worked perfectly. On the other hand, the attempts to secure mobility after the initial surprise revealed a good many points where improvements were possible and the Corps profited by its experience. The work of the mobile artillery had to be made more rapid and systematic; the usefulness of the Independent Force had been restricted by its inability to leave the roads, and the whole battle reinforced the opinion that cavalry, however gallant, are useless against determined enemy resistance. The tanks had been invaluable. So splendid a weapon were they for dealing with machine-gun nests that infantry commanders were occasionally disposed to criticize their men for relying too much on the help of the tanks whenever they were held up. They were, however, vulnerable targets and, especially when they advanced beyond the protection of our own guns and ran into enemy guns waiting for them in the open, large numbers were knocked out. The strain of a few days' work was also very severe upon their crews. The experience of the 1st Division may be taken as typical. Of the 42 tanks available for August 8th, 22 were assigned to the Green Line and of these 12 arrived; 6 were assigned to the Red Line and out of these, with the 12 who went on from the Green Line, 11 arrived. The remaining 14 were assigned to the Blue Dotted Line and 6 reached it that day. Of the total 42, 28 rallied before daybreak on August 9th. During the later stages of the battle no such numbers were available, and the Corps never again during the Hundred Days had such an array of tanks as on August 8th. In the much more severe and prolonged fighting for Cambrai upon which they were now about to enter the infantry had to rely more and more upon themselves.

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SECTION 4. ARRAS AND THE DROCOURT–QUÉANT LINE

The remaining operations of the Canadians during the Hundred Days fall into three phases. First comes the battle from August 26th to September 4th, called the Battle of the Scarpe in Sir Douglas Haig's dispatch, which carried them from Arras to the Canal du Nord. Then, after a pause until September 27th, follows the Battle of Cambrai in which they burst their way across the Canal du Nord and ultimately enveloped Cambrai from the north. Cambrai did not fall until October 9th and the battle, as far as the Canadians were concerned, ended on the 11th when the Corps side-stepped to the north on to a new front. The third phase covers the last month of the war from October 11th to November 11th, in which the Corps achieved its triumphant 50-mile advance to Mons.

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When they left the Amiens front, the Canadians were brought back to take part in what was to be the next main operation by Sir Douglas Haig's forces. They returned to the First Army and to the sector in front of Arras, which they knew well and which was now becoming of vital importance. In the Bapaume area the attacks of the Third Army were slowly driving the enemy out of the Somme salient and back to the Hindenburg system. But the Germans were fighting hard and hoped to tire our forces out by the time they had reached their own intact lines behind. Now, as in the spring of 1917, the pivot of their retirement was formed by the defences facing Arras. These protected the flank of the Hindenburg Line ; and an obvious method of hastening and disorganizing the retreat farther south was to threaten the pivotal position by extending our attacks as far as the Scarpe. The Germans in fact anticipated such a move and were concentrating reserves to meet it.

The task of breaking up these defences was given to the Canadian Corps when during the last week of August it was put into the line astride the Arras–Cambrai road. No strategic surprise such as at Amiens was possible, because both sides knew that an attack here was inevitable. Hard fighting was the only way, and on August 26th the Corps began a fight not surpassed in severity by any of its encounters. From that

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date until the Armistice the Canadians were constantly in action except for a brief rest during September in front of the Canal du Nord ; and the resistance they had to meet in front of the Drocourt–Quéant Line or to the north of Cambrai was of the most stubborn kind. The line of advance carried them directly towards Cambrai, the nucleus of the whole German defence system in the centre of the British front, and the enemy fought to a finish. No better proof could be given of the value which the German command placed upon the defences confronting the Canadians than the lavish way in which they threw in reserves to stop the advance.

The immediate task in front of the Corps was to burst through the enemy defences from Arras to the Canal du Nord, the accomplishment of which meant a penetration of 12 miles. 'The moment arrived for the First Army to extend the front of our attack to the north. Using the River Sensée to cover their left in the same way as the River Somme had been used to cover the left of the Fourth Army in the Battle of Amiens, the right of the First Army attacked east of Arras and by turning from the north the western extremity of the Hindenburg Line compelled the enemy to undertake a further retreat.'[1] The ground lent itself admirably to defence. A succession of ridges and streams ran across the front for the whole distance back to the canal and, forming in themselves natural lines of defence, they had been strengthened by a series of trench systems, one of which at least was meant to be impregnable.

The line of advance lay between two well-defined flanks, the course of the Scarpe and the Sensée on the left, and the Hindenburg Line running away to the south-east on the right. The latter was to be dealt with simultaneously by the XVIIth Corps of the Third Army to the south of the Canadians, while to protect their left the Fifty-first (Highland) Division was placed under General Currie's control to advance north of the Scarpe. The front line between these boundaries ran from Neuville-Vitasse northward in front of Telegraph Hill and Tilloy-les-Moufflaines where it crossed the Cambrai road, thence it swung north-east towards the Scarpe at Fampoux. Dominating it in the immediate foreground lay the height of Monchy-le-Preux, the key to the whole area in front of Arras, which the British had captured in the April offensive of 1917

[1] Sir D. Haig's dispatch of January 7, 1919.

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at the same time that the Canadians took Vimy, but which had been given up in the retreat of 1918 a year later. Between the main Monchy height and the Canadian front line lay the two little heights of Orange Hill and Chapel Hill, the former of which they had been preparing to capture before they went south to Amiens. Covering the whole area was the maze of trenches which had formed the British front and support lines before March 1918.

East of Monchy began the regular German defence systems on ground which had been German since 1914. Altogether these comprised four main lines :

1. The line to which the Germans had been pressed back in 1917 immediately east of Monchy.

2. The so-called Fresnes–Rouvroy Line, a continuation of the line which ran from Rouvroy behind Lens to the Scarpe at Fresnes ; and which in the Canadian area ran in front of Boiry–Notre Dame, crossed the Sensée at Rémy and Haucourt, and thence ran south-west towards the main Hindenburg Line.

3. The Drocourt–Quéant Line about 3,000 yards farther east, an enormously strong and deep system with front and support trenches all heavily wired and with abundant deep dug-outs, on which the enemy had been working since the spring of 1917 before Vimy, and which, like the Hindenburg Line of which it was a continuation, was intended to be absolutely impregnable.

4. The Canal du Nord which, with the Sensée marshes crossing it on our northern flank, formed a practically impassable barrier along the Corps front should all the trench lines be broken.

In addition to these trench lines, which ran at right angles to our advance, were two switches on the southern half of the front running diagonally from line to line. From the Sensée at Vis-en-Artois there ran back in a south-easterly direction towards the Drocourt–Quéant Line the so-called Vis-en-Artois Switch. Behind the Drocourt–Quéant Line again, covering Villers-lez-Cagnicourt and Buissy, ran the Buissy Switch from the Cambrai road towards the Canal and the main Hindenburg system at Inchy.

Any assault on this highly organized area was made more difficult, as has been said, by the fact that surprise was impos-

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sible. The enemy were alert and ready. 'Therefore the plan necessitated provision for very hard and continuous fighting, the main stress being laid on the continuity of the operations.' Sir Arthur Currie intended at first to attack on a two-divisional front, each Division using one brigade per day, so that it could remain in action for three days. But the severity of the struggle and the widening of the front soon necessitated the use of more than one brigade on each divisional front, and this meant that divisions had to be kept in until they were absolutely exhausted.

The battle falls into two stages :

1. The attack August 26th-28th, by the 2nd and 3rd Divisions, with the Fifty-first on their northern flank, as far as the Fresnes-Rouvroy Line.

2. The breaking of the Drocourt–Quéant Line by the 1st, 4th Canadian, and Fourth British Divisions.

Both attacks are included under the official title of the Battle of Arras.

The 2nd and 3rd Divisions, who were the first to leave the Amiens sector, come into the line on August 23rd and 24th, General Currie taking over command of the front on August 23rd. The neighbourhood was familiar to the Canadians, and the area behind the front line was well organized with communications, roads, light railways, and dumps, many of them constructed by the Canadians in the spring. The plans for the attack on Orange Hill also stood them in good stead. But it was not the least of their accomplishments that they entered now upon what was the beginning of their greatest battle with no more than three days' preparation. In the Hundred Days battles were begun with less preliminary preparation than would have been devoted to a trench raid in 1916 ; and this was only possible because the Corps commander had at his command a perfectly running machine.

The 2nd Division held the line from Neuville-Vitasse northward to the Cambrai road. In front of it on the left lay Chapel Hill astride the road. Across its right front between Neuville-Vitasse and the Cojeul River lay a spur of high ground running from the south-west towards Wancourt. Between the Wancourt Ridge and Neuville-Vitasse was a stretch of low ground dominated by heights on all sides. Beyond the Wancourt Ridge on the far side of the Cojeul ran a parallel height

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of land from south-west to north-east, towards the northern end of which lay Wancourt Tower. Beyond this Wancourt Tower Ridge the ground fell away to the valley of the Sensée, whence it rose again to the east towards the plateau in front of the Canal du Nord.

The conformation of the ground immediately in front of it determined the Division's dispositions for the first day's attack. Two main lines of objectives had been laid down, the Green and the Red Dotted Lines (see map), beyond which exploitation was to be carried as far as possible. The 2nd Division determined to attack with two brigades, the 4th and the 6th. On the left the 4th was to make a straightforward advance in conjunction with the 3rd Division. But on the right the 6th was to begin by forming a defensive flank facing south from the 4th's line of advance. When the 4th had reached the Red Dotted Line, and when the XVIIth Corps to the south had worked along the Wancourt Ridge, the 6th was then to mop up the valley in between and so squeeze out the Germans who were left there all the way back to Neuville-Vitasse. Afterwards it was to go on conforming with the progress of the 4th. In the initial stages the whole of the artillery barrage supported the 4th Brigade.

The 3rd Division on the left, from the Cambrai road to the Scarpe, had the chief task of the day, the taking of Orange Hill and then of Monchy itself. These heights were honeycombed by a powerful trench system and could only be approached frontally up smooth slopes which were swept by the enemy's machine guns. But farther north near the Scarpe the ground was more broken and afforded better cover. It was decided therefore to make the main attack on the northern flank and to carry both the Orange Hill and the Monchy positions by turning movements from this direction, while a subsidiary frontal attack was to proceed at the same time north of the Cambrai road. This whole operation was allotted to the 8th (C.M.R.) Brigade, and the task of further exploitation beyond Monchy was to be carried out by the 7th.

North of the Scarpe the Fifty-first Division was given no definite objectives, but was to push on along the river as opportunity offered towards Greenland Hill, the dominating point on its front. By so doing it could cover the left flank of the 3rd Division's advance; but the latter also made

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arrangements to throw back its flank along the Scarpe in case the enemy should hold out to the north.

Originally the advance of both Canadian Divisions was to be due east. But in the morning of the 26th their work was complicated by a change in direction, and they were ordered to advance south-east with the Cambrai road as a boundary between them. This upset their arrangements and for a time a gap was left between them, filled in by Brig.-Gen. Brutinel's force, which was waiting for such emergencies and was operating along the Cambrai road as it had operated along the Roye road at Amiens. The beginning of the assault also was nearly upset by a change in the zero hour at the last moment from 4.30 to 3 a.m., making the initial stages of the attack a night operation. The purpose of the change was to get our troops started before the German guns might be expected to open fire. To add to all other troubles the night before zero was rainy, and the slippery ground made the task of assembly very difficult.

The artillery barrage was sufficient, but the supply of guns was not so copious as at Amiens, and in the case of the 2nd Division they were all concentrated to cover one brigade. Nor were so many tanks available, so that for most of the work the infantry had to depend upon themselves. Each Division was to receive nine tanks per day, but on the first day the 3rd had only five and the 2nd eight, and by the third desperate day of August 28th there were none at all. The Amiens battle with its tremendous tank casualties had taught caution, and units were warned to keep them only for important tasks. As a general rule, too, it was laid down that tanks should follow the infantry rather than precede it as they had done in the later stages of August 8th.

In spite of all these drawbacks the first day's attack on August 26th was a complete success. The enemy were caught in the course of a withdrawal which they had begun the day before. Both divisions made splendid progress and by the end of the day the rounded enemy salient which projected in towards Arras had been completely flattened out. On the left in front of Pelves troops of the 3rd Division were actually in part of the 1917 German front line and the Fifty-first were up with them near Roeux. From there the line ran in a general south-westerly direction to the Wancourt Tower Ridge, an

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average of over 6,000 yards beyond where it had been in the morning.

The 4th Brigade immediately south of the Cambrai road attacked with the 21st and 20th Battalions. No organized opposition was met with before their first objective, Chapel Hill, which was quickly cleared; and they then went on through to the Red Dotted Line in front of Guemappe. They had all the tanks of the Division, eight in number, with them, and these helped greatly. At noon the 18th Battalion leap-frogged and advanced against Guemappe. They were now, however, without artillery support and could not get on. But at 5 o'clock, some of the guns being in position by this time to help them, they attacked again and Guemappe was carried.

The 6th Brigade meanwhile to their right was proceeding with its very complicated manœuvres. One of its battalions, the 31st, had been actively engaged with the enemy for the past few days and had been pushing its way through the south-western parts of Neuville-Vitasse, having taken the Sugar Factory in the road south of it in a brilliant daylight attack on the 23rd. It now remained holding the line, while two companies of the 27th advanced along with the 4th Brigade. The remainder of the 27th and the 29th then formed their long defensive flank back along Edinburgh and Glasgow trenches, and when the 4th Brigade was far enough forward the 27th and 28th went on with the mopping up of the valley east of Neuville-Vitasse and then advanced to the Red Dotted Line, occupying Wancourt. All this was done with hardly any help from a barrage. In the afternoon orders came to take the Wancourt Tower Ridge on the other side of the Cojeul, a new task due to the change in direction of the advance and the extension of the divisional boundary 1,000 yards to the south. By 4.30 guns had been brought up, a barrage had been arranged, and the 28th and 27th moved on again. They had to go straight up the open slopes of the ridge into the enemy machine guns, but they did it, and by nightfall were in possession of the line along the crest. One long trench, Egret Trench, just below the crest, still defied them, but early next morning by a surprise attack they took this too; and there the 5th Brigade went through them. After this strenuous work the 6th Brigade was not used in the next two days' fighting,

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but it remained in close support, and one of its battalions, the 31st, was called on to help the 4th Brigade on the 28th.

North of the Cambrai road the 8th Brigade of the 3rd Division was storming the main objectives of the day. Its plan was that the 5th C.M.R. should advance straight through on the right, while the 2nd and 4th moved forward on the left. North of Orange Hill the 2nd wheeled to the south and overran the defences here. The 1st then passed through and repeated the manœuvre against Monchy. The whole difficult scheme, in spite of the change in the zero hour and the difficulties of a rainy night, worked to perfection, and by 7.45 in the morning the Brigade had taken all its objectives. This splendid exploit was no doubt rendered easier by the fact that the Germans had thinned out their forward defences and withdrawn a large part of their artillery the day before in expectation of an attack. But the going was not easy, and on the front of the 5th C.M.R., Lieut. C. S. Rutherford won the Victoria Cross for a piece of work that helped materially to solve some of the difficulties. Advancing in front, he came across some Germans outside a pill-box and boldly ordered them to surrender. They invited him to enter the pill-box but he refused, and succeeded in convincing them that they were surrounded. Thereupon they gave in—2 officers and 63 men with 2 machine guns. Not content with this, he instructed one of the officers to order another German machine gun which was holding up his men to cease fire, and the officer did so. After that his men arrived and the advance went on.

Beyond Monchy the 7th Brigade passed through to exploit success as far as possible, the R.C.R. on the right and the P.P.C.L.I. on the left, with the 49th behind on the left to cover that flank on the north. The tanks to support this stage of the advance were either not up in time or were quickly knocked out, so that the infantry went on alone. Almost immediately they ran into stiff resistance in the old enemy trenches east of Monchy. The R.C.R. were soon checked in this maze, and the 42nd coming up on their right to fill in the gap caused by the change of boundary were also held up south-west of the Bois-du-Vert. The P.P.C.L.I. pushed on through the Bois-du-Sart a mile beyond the general line, but here they were exposed on all sides, and counter-attacks

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supported by converging machine gun fire compelled them to withdraw.

At the close of the first day's fighting, therefore, the line ran through the old German trenches about half-way between Monchy and the two little woods—Bois-du-Sart and Bois-du-Vert. It crossed the Cambrai road and the Cojeul east of Guemappe and from there ran south-westward along the Wancourt Tower Ridge. For the next day's attack the goal set was the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line, almost 5,000 yards in advance. But no fixed objectives were laid down, the object being to exert continuous pressure.

It had been intended that at the end of the day the 1st Canadian and the Fourth (British) Divisions should take over the fight, and the divisions in the line were informed of these arrangements. But they proved impossible to carry out, as the Fourth Division was not far enough forward to be able to effect the relief in time, and neither the 2nd nor 3rd was able to reach the objective of the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line. This left no alternative but to attack again on the 28th with the same two tired divisions, so as to keep the relieving divisions fresh for the main task of the Drocourt–Quéant Line. The fighting of the 28th, following upon the long advance and the hard work of the two previous days, was a supreme test of the qualities of the men engaged, and they came through it nobly.

The attack on the 27th was carried on by the 5th, 4th, and 9th Brigades from right to left, the 4th continuing on its line of advance in the centre and the 5th and 9th leapfrogging the units who had attacked on the flanks on the 26th.

The 5th Brigade (Brig.-Gen. T. L. Tremblay), which had to come up some distance from behind, found itself unable to assemble in time for the zero hour originally fixed, 4.55 a.m., and at its request a new zero of 10 o'clock was set for the Division. At that hour the 26th, 24th, and 22nd Battalions in front, with the 25th in support, advanced from the Wancourt Tower Ridge toward the Sensée, their first objective. Their attack was necessarily made in full daylight and, as they moved down the forward slope toward the river, they came under intense fire from the enemy's artillery and machine guns. But they pushed doggedly on and by noon had cleared the whole distance to the river and were across it. Beyond the

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line of the river our own barrage came to an end and the punishment from the enemy in the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line and the Vis-en-Artois Switch increased. Nevertheless, the troops still made some progress. Under the heroic leadership of Lieut.-Col. Clark Kennedy the 24th in the centre seized Occident Trench and maintained themselves. With the 26th and 22nd prolonging their line to either flank they held on till night but could get no farther. Colonel Clark Kennedy's magnificent efforts and example in the centre of the line on this day and the next won for him a V.C., the first of two such decorations to be gained by battalion commanders in this battle.

On the left of the 5th, the 4th Brigade was advancing with the 19th and 18th Battalions in front. They ran into the same kind of fire, but with the help of the 43rd Battalion north of the Cambrai road succeeded in forcing their way into Vis-en-Artois. Here a long fight followed before the bridgehead across the Sensée could be made good, but it was in our hands by night. Farther the Brigade could not penetrate, and along the remainder of the front towards the south its troops did not cross the river. Here, as against the 5th Brigade, the enemy were pouring up reinforcements all day long; machine guns were being rushed up in lorries and their infantry filtered forward with great boldness, while their guns continuously pounded the attackers.

North of the Cambrai road on the front of the 3rd Division the day's work fell to the 9th Brigade. The divisional front had by this time very greatly increased and the 7th Brigade remained holding the line north of the Bois-du-Sart. The 9th had the 43rd, 52nd, and 58th in line, and at 4.55 a.m. the two latter began their attack, the 43rd waiting until 10 to advance along the Cambrai road toward Vis-en-Artois with the 2nd Division. The 52nd cleared the Bois-du-Vert, while the 58th went through the Bois-du-Sart. Passing through the 52nd, the 116th then went on against Boiry and Artillery Hill north of it but found the German machine guns too strong. They tried again in the afternoon, but once more were held up and had to content themselves with clearing two enemy strong points between the two woods. At the end of the day, then, the line ran back north-westerly from Vis-en-Artois past the Bois-du-Sart, and the Fresnes–Rouvroy Trench was still unbreached.

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Both the 2nd and 3rd Divisions had by this time suffered heavily, especially in the fighting of the 27th, and all their units had been engaged. But next day the wearied troops were ordered to attack again and to make a special effort to clear the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line which screened the main objective of the Drocourt–Quéant Line. The 28th saw still harder fighting than before, and on the right divisional front it was almost entirely without success.

On this day the 2nd Division continued with its 4th and 5th Brigades. The 4th Brigade had now been in action steadily for two days and it was given a narrow front of 700 yards beyond Vis-en-Artois. Its 20th and 21st Battalions managed to cross the Sensée but Olive Trench and the Ocean Work, part of the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line, stopped them dead. The wire here was thick and uncut, and the best the brigade could do was to establish a line of posts on the far side of the river. So exhausted was it that its reserve on this day had to be made up out of the head-quarters details, batmen and cooks. The 6th Brigade was moving up behind to take over the fight, but when the enemy resistance was found to be in such strength this relief was cancelled, and the 4th was finally relieved at night by the 1st Division. Its losses in the three days had amounted to 60 officers and 1,366 other ranks.

Nor could the 5th Brigade to the south make any impression upon the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line, though at one time some of its men were reported in it. Before the close of the day every battalion had lost its commanding officer and the 22nd French-Canadians were without officers altogether. Lieut.-Col. Clark Kennedy, though badly wounded, refused to retire and directed his men all day from a shell hole. In the end the Brigade had to settle down in front of the German trenches, and here the 1st Division relieved it. In its two days' fighting it had lost 55 officers and 1,241 other ranks.

The 3rd Division north of the Cambrai road found the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line not quite so strong and was able to pierce it, though only by the most splendid efforts. By evening of the 27th its front was 7,000 yards long, all its troops had been engaged in the previous two days, and some of them were so closely in touch with the enemy that it was impossible to relieve or move them. On the wide front the whole three brigades were put in to attack on the 28th and their battalions

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distributed in the best way practicable under the circumstances. For the sector on the right from the Cambrai road to the Cojeul the 8th Brigade was made responsible, though the 43rd Battalion of the 9th had to remain with it in the line. North of the Cojeul as far as the Bois-du-Sart the 9th continued the line with the 4th C.M.R. added to it; and from there to the Scarpe the 7th remained. As there were not enough guns to cover this entire frontage, it was arranged that each sector should be dealt with in turn, all the guns of the Division concentrating on it.

Accordingly, at 5 in the morning the first move was made, and the 49th rushed Pelves on the extreme left. Then at 11 the next stage came. The 49th, P.P.C.L.I., and 42nd of the 7th Brigade together attacked Jig-Saw Wood and captured it. At the same time the 9th Brigade advanced against the objectives which had defied it on the previous day—Boiry and Artillery Hill. The 4th C.M.R. on the right and the 58th on the left made the attack in the form of a turning movement from the south. Passing across the Fresnes–Rouvroy Trench they worked their way through the village, and then the 58th, with the help of the other units of the brigade, pushed on over Artillery Hill, which they had cleared by the middle of the afternoon.

Meanwhile at 12.30 the third attack of the Division was made by the 8th Brigade, with the 43rd, and the 5th C.M.R. in the line. Their objective was the high ground above the Sensée, known as Seventy Ridge, and the woods and villages in the river valley. Both of them succeeded. Seventy Ridge was quickly overrun; the 5th C.M.R. then pushed on and joined up with the 9th Brigade on their left, while the 43rd cleared up the line of the river. But the 2nd C.M.R., who were to go through and swing southward, were unable to carry out their part of the operation, and this had to be left for fresh troops. It is indicative of the character of the fighting on these days that by evening the four companies of the 43rd had one officer each left and averaged 16 other ranks.

This final effort of the 3rd Division which cleared the bulk of the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line was a noble instance of hard fighting. During the last day every battalion was taking part in the struggle, and that, too, after the men had been fighting and marching steadily for two days over broken country and

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through a maze of trenches. They well deserved their commander's praise for 'one of the finest examples possible of what can be accomplished by determined men in spite of fatigue and losses'.

During these two days the brigades of the Fifty-first Division north of the Scarpe had been pushing stubbornly on against the same stiff resistance which met the Canadians. They gained a footing on Greenland Hill, were driven off again, and did not finally get complete possession till the 29th. On this day the command of their front passed to the XXIInd Corps and the Canadian Corps front was restricted to the area south of the Scarpe.

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With the relief of the 2nd and 3rd Divisions on the night of the 28th/29th an intermediate stage in the battle follows for the next four days, during which the new units work forward to a suitable jumping-off line for the next great assault—the attack on the Drocourt–Quéant Line.

The 1st Division was in the line south of the Cambrai road facing the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line which had balked the 2nd. North of the road was the Fourth (British) Division with Brig.-Gen. Brutinel's composite force on its left flank. September 1st was the date tentatively fixed by higher authorities for the Drocourt–Quéant operation, and in the intervening few days a difficult advance averaging 2,000 yards had to be made before we could be within assaulting distance of the main objective. The heavy artillery meanwhile were beginning their preparation on the thick wire guarding the line.

Accordingly, during the last three days of the month the Fourth (British) Division pushed stubbornly forward through the rough wooded country beyond the Sensée and cleared Haucourt, Rémy, and Eterpigny. On the left Brutinel's force made an advance of over a mile north-east of Boiry without meeting with much opposition. Here it was relieved by the Eleventh Division on the 30th, and the command of that part of the line passed to the XXIInd Corps. The frontage of the Canadian Corps was thereby considerably shortened and the long northern flank, which had been a problem throughout the previous advance, no longer worried it.

On the night of August 31st/September 1st, the 4th Canadian Division, arriving last of all from Amiens, came into the line.

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It took over 1,500 yards astride the Cambrai road between the 1st Canadian and Fourth British Divisions and prepared to advance with them in the big attack. This was now postponed until September 2nd to give the guns more time for wire-cutting, and the 12th Brigade spent the day of September 1st fighting for a satisfactory jumping-off line. Some of its troops were still fighting immediately before zero, and the barrage came down only as a sign to continue the conflict. At the last moment the Fourth (British) Division declared itself unable to attack the Drocourt–Quéant Line along the whole of its front after its three days' previous fighting. The 4th Canadians had therefore to take over an additional 1,000 yards of front and the 10th Brigade was hurried up to take its place on the left of the 12th. The 10th Brigade had to march 10 miles, relieve a very uncertain front line, and immediately take up its assembly positions for the assault, a strenuous preparation for an attack on one of the strongest systems of trench lines which had ever faced it.

While these advances and reliefs were taking place on the northern part of the Corps front, the 1st Division on the right was carrying out a series of brilliant minor operations by which it succeeded in clearing the whole area of the Fresnes–Rouvroy and Vis-en-Artois trench systems and making an advance of over 2,000 yards.

The first step was to drive the enemy out of the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line, where they had held up the 5th Brigade. The wire here had proved an impassable obstacle and there was no time for wire-cutting now. The 1st Brigade accordingly tried a novel scheme. Hearing that Hendecourt just south of the divisional area had been taken by the XVIIth Corps, General Griesbach assembled two of his battalions, the 1st and 2nd, to the north of it behind the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line. The 3rd was assembled west of the junction of the Fresnes–Rouvroy trenches with the Vis-en-Artois Switch and a special barrage was worked out to cover the two attacks, one proceeding northward and the other eastward, until they joined hands. At 4.40 a.m. on the 30th the barrage came down and the attackers went forward to a complete success. The 1st and 2nd Battalions had trouble in assembling, as the enemy regained Hendecourt during the night; but when they once

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started they took the Germans entirely by surprise. In quick order they pushed along the Fresnes–Rouvroy trenches and behind them as far as Orix Trench, the support trench of the Vis-en-Artois Switch. The 3rd joined them here from the west and the Brigade held its gains against counter-attacks, though it had to call in the 4th Battalion in the evening to clear up the neighbourhood of Upton Wood. Next day the 2nd Brigade took a hand in the work, and the 8th Battalion cleaned out the remaining part of the Fresnes–Rouvroy Line towards the Cambrai road including the Ocean Work. Part of this was handed over to the 4th (Canadian) Division that night. On September 1st both the 2nd and 3rd Brigades moved forward in conjunction with the 12th Brigade north of them. The 15th and 14th Battalions attacked two positions on the right of the Divisional front, Chateau Wood and the little hillock known as Crow's Nest, and took them both; and the 14th spent the rest of the day beating off four counter-attacks. The 5th Battalion to the north also moved forward in line and met with some fierce fighting. A counter-attack at 11.30 in the morning drove it back, but by 4 o'clock it had regained its objective. The enemy attacked again at 6, fighting continued all through the night, and was still going on when our barrage for the big attack opened at zero, September 2nd.

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For this attack the main 'D-Q' operation orders laid down four objectives. The first, the Red Line, ran roughly along the Drocourt–Quéant support trench over the 1st Division's front, and on that of the 4th included Dury and the ridge in front of it as well as all the Drocourt–Quéant trenches. The attainment of the Red Line was therefore the supreme objective of the day since, when it was gained, we would be through the whole of the Drocourt–Quéant system. The second objective, the Green Line, included the villages of Buissy, Écourt St. Quentin, and Récourt, and would give us possession of all the high ground overlooking the Canal du Nord and the Sensée. The third objective, the Blue Line, ran along the high ground east of the Canal and then swung back along the Sensée marshes, including here the villages of Lecluse and Étaing. Beyond it again a fourth objective, the Brown Line, along the commanding ground of Bourlon Wood was marked on the map, but it never came within range of the attack at this stage.

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The Canal du Nord was found impassable and all of the Blue Line beyond also remained out of reach.

The essential purpose was to break the Drocourt–Quéant Line, and it was all-important that this should be done on the Canadian front; for to the south the XVIIth Corps, which was attacking simultaneously, had in front of it the terrible maze of trenches where the Drocourt–Quéant Line joined on to the main Hindenburg system. If the Canadians drove in a wedge to the north of this, it might be turned from the flank, and that was what actually happened. A Canadian success was further expected to compel a general retirement of the enemy along the whole Third Army front to the south. This hope was also realized. The immediate result of the fighting on September 2nd was the withdrawal of the German line to the Canal du Nord from Peronne northward.

The enemy line in front of the Canadian Corps was assaulted by the 1st Division on the right with two brigades, the 4th in the centre with two brigades, and the Fourth (British) Division on the left with one brigade. Behind them was the First (British) Division, ready to push through in case the enemy defences went to pieces, and Brutinel's Independent Force, which was given a special task. It consisted of the two Motor Machine Gun Brigades, the Corps Cyclists, and the Canadian Light Horse, with six armoured cars added from the Tanks and the 10th Royal Hussars. At zero plus 3 hours this mobile force was to pass the Red Line and rush on to establish a bridgehead over the Canal at Marquion and then to exploit towards Cambrai. This, however, proved to be impossible because the enemy put up a most stubborn defence along the Cambrai road, where wire and felled trees stopped both cavalry and armoured cars.

The 1st Division, in order to reach the Red Line, had to go through the double line of the Drocourt–Quéant front trenches and then the support trench of the system about 300 yards to the rear. Behind the Drocourt–Quéant system lay the strong village of Cagnicourt, and behind it again, running diagonally across the front, was the double line of the Buissy Switch covering the two villages of Buissy and Villers-lez-Cagnicourt. All of this was included in the Division's second objective, the Green Line; and the 3rd and 2nd Brigades were to go the whole distance from the jumping-off line to the Green

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Line. Here the 1st Brigade was to leapfrog and endeavour to cross the Canal. To assist it in performing this very difficult piece of work the Division was assigned 18 tanks.

The two northern Divisions had confronting them before they reached the Red Line no fewer than five lines of trenches—the double Drocourt–Quéant front line, another double line about 1,000 yards in front of this, and the support trench in the rear. Behind all of these on the front of the 4th Canadian Division lay the village of Dury and the formidable bare ridge of Mount Dury. General Watson proposed to take the Red Line, which included all these positions, with his 12th and 10th Brigades, and then to push the 11th Brigade through the centre with a battalion of each of the others on the flanks towards the Green Line. The 12th Brigade had 24 tanks to help it and the 10th had 8.

The attack was supported by a splendid concentration of guns, more being now available than for the earlier stages of the battle. On the front of the 1st Division it was calculated that there was an 18-pounder for every 23 yards in the barrage. But the Drocourt–Quéant Line had immense belts of wire protecting it, and it was impossible to cut all of it before the attack. A large number of tanks was therefore assembled to roll gaps through the wire, and they did their work splendidly as far as the Red Line. Here, however, our barrage came to an end, and beyond the Red Line most of the tanks became casualties. This meant much heavier work for the infantry and, while the mobile brigades of artillery did well in making their way forward, the enemy resistance stiffened greatly behind the main trench line. This resulted in failure to reach the second objective, the 4th Division in particular finding progress much more difficult beyond the Drocourt–Quéant Line than it was through the actual trench area.

The 3rd Brigade on the right used its 16th and 13th Battalions for the Red Line, after which the 15th and 14th were to go on to the Green Line. Behind them a brigade of the XVIIth Corps was assembled to follow them and then turn south along the Drocourt–Quéant trenches. At zero, 5 a.m., they started. The 13th and the left of the 16th were able to reach their objectives in time and with few losses. But the right of the 16th was held up by flanking machine gun fire from the south. Here Lieut.-Col. C. Peck performed wonders

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in reorganizing and directing his men on the spot. Exposing himself fearlessly he took personal charge of the attack, gave instructions to the tanks, and by his energy and example brought success out of a very awkward situation. His work this day was rewarded by a V.C., and never was the honour bestowed on a more popular leader.

The 15th, when they passed through the 16th, had to advance under the same difficulties since the troops to the south did not come up to cover the right flank till towards evening. But none the less they made good the Bois de Bouche and the 16th pushed on behind them to establish a firm right flank. The 15th then, with the help of the 3rd Battalion, who were close at hand ready to leapfrog, continued the advance as far as the railway 1,500 yards farther on, and here the line was established for the night. Meanwhile the 14th, leapfrogging the 13th on the left, took Cagnicourt by surprise and captured a whole battalion. They then went to the Bois de Loison, where the fighting was harder and casualties were heavier, but this could not stop them, and a party of them went farther into the Buissy Switch.

The 2nd Brigade attacked on a one-battalion front, the 7th going as far as the Red Line, where the 10th continued the advance. The 7th had a triumphal progress through the Drocourt–Quéant trenches, and with the very effective help of the tanks gathered in 600 prisoners. Beyond this point, however, the 10th met with a warm reception. Two positions, the village of Villers-lez-Cagnicourt and a factory north of it on the Cambrai road, were the centres of resistance, and for some time the attack was held up. There were now no tanks left, but some of our gunners came to the rescue with German guns, and by 4 p.m. both these obstacles had been cleared. The 10th then reorganized and carried the attack down the Buissy Switch and beyond it, and by about 11 o'clock at night had found touch with the 3rd Brigade on the right.

By this time it was too late for the 1st Brigade to go farther. The 3rd Battalion was already in the line with the 15th on the right, while companies of the 1st and 4th had become involved in the fighting on the left. These latter were withdrawn and the Brigade contented itself for the night with taking over the front of the hard-fighting 3rd Brigade troops.

The veteran 1st Division had, therefore, another very good

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day's work to its credit. While it had not reached the Green Line, it had cleared the bulk of the Buissy Switch and was farther forward than the units on either flank. This advance had been achieved in spite of the fact that the enemy were stronger numerically than the attacking troops, as was shown by the number of their dead and prisoners. The depth to which the Division had penetrated, in fact, compelled an enemy withdrawal on the whole front during the night.

The 4th Division meantime had been meeting with strenuous opposition. Both its brigades, as has been related, had had difficulties in assembling, and the 12th had been fighting all the previous day in the neighbourhood of the Cambrai road. Some parties of the enemy still held out here on the night of September 1st and prevented the brigade from making good its intended jumping-off line. They were left there and it was decided to deal with them when the main attack began. The 12th Brigade used the 72nd, 38th, and 85th Battalions in its front line, with the 78th in support; to the north of it the 10th attacked with the 47th and 50th in front and the 46th and 44th in support.

From the very start the 12th had trouble; and the 85th Battalion in particular suffered severely at the jumping-off line from pockets of the enemy who were on the wrong side of the barrage. The Drocourt–Quéant trenches themselves were found heavily garrisoned, but hardly proved as tough an obstacle as had been expected. Here, as all along the line on this day, the enemy reinforcements who had been crowded forward showed little stomach for the fight when it came to close quarters. It was only when our men had passed beyond the trenches that real resistance began. As they came up over the bare slopes of Mount Dury every battalion was swept by machine gun fire from both close and distant ranges. It was reported as the heaviest ever experienced in the Division's history, and it caused very heavy losses.

The experience of the 10th Brigade on the left was similar. They found the four successive trenches of the Drocourt–Quéant Line all strongly wired and had some sharp struggles with machine gunners, but again the Germans surrendered readily when it came to a bayonet fight. The 46th were quickly through and rounded up the village of Dury, where they took the Area Commandant prisoner. But beyond, like

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the 12th Brigade, they found progress almost impossible in the hail of machine gun bullets.

At 8 a.m., in spite of the difficulties with which the front troops were meeting, the second stage of the advance began. The 78th on the right, the 54th, 75th, and 87th of the 11th Brigade in the centre, and the 44th on the left endeavoured to push forward to the next objective. But very little ground could be made. On the right especially the Germans were making a determined stand along the Cambrai road; and the strong points which were holding up the 2nd Brigade, Villers-lez-Cagnicourt and the factory, poured in a heavy oblique fire from the south. General Brutinel's armoured cars tried to clear up the situation by pushing down the road, but they, too, were stopped, and by the middle of the afternoon the whole line was at a standstill, for all the brigadiers of the Division agreed that it was useless to keep on until a fresh attack with a new barrage could be organized.

Farther to the left the Fourth (British) Division had also succeeded in clearing most of the Drocourt–Quéant system; but it was unable to continue its advance to the north-east and had to wait for another attack to carry forward the line.

Thus the main result of the day's fighting by the Corps was the complete capture of the Drocourt–Quéant Line. 'Although the crossings of the Canal du Nord had not been captured, the results of the day's fighting were most gratifying. The Canadian Corps had pierced the Drocourt–Quéant Line on its whole front of attack, and the exploitation of our success by the XVIIth Corps on the right had further widened the breach and made possible the capture of a large stretch of territory to the south. To stem our advance and hold the Drocourt–Quéant Line the enemy had concentrated eight fresh Divisions directly opposite the Canadian Corps, but the unparalleled striking power of our battalions and the individual bravery of our men had smashed all resistance. The number of unwounded prisoners captured exceeded 5,000, and we had identified every unit of the seven Infantry Divisions and the one Cavalry Division engaged.' [1]

Orders were issued for a fresh attack next day, the 3rd, to complete the work done on the 2nd, and dispositions were made to carry it out. But when morning came the attack

[1] Interim Report, 1918.

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was found unnecessary. Our patrols in many places could not gain contact with the enemy, and aeroplanes reported that the whole area west of the Canal was evacuated. All units therefore advanced. The 1st Division found some enemy machine gunners still holding out, but by evening the advanced troops were on the line of the Canal. The 4th Division advanced practically without opposition to the Green Line. In Écourt St. Quentin Canadians had the satisfaction of liberating the first body of French civilians, finding about 50 of them left behind by the enemy in their precipitate retreat across the Canal. Meanwhile the Fourth (British) Division was clearing the area to the north; early in the day its troops captured Étaing and by noon they were in Lecluse. By the end of the next day, September 4th, practically the whole triangle enclosed by the Canal and the Sensée marshes was in our hands, and the first main stage in the advance towards Cambrai was completed.

The Canal itself was found impassable. The enemy had blown up all the bridges except three on the right of the Corps front, and two of these were destroyed during the night of the 3rd/4th. All attempts of our patrols to approach were met by heavy fire from the very alert machine gunners on the far side. The slopes leading down toward the canal from the west were fully exposed to enemy observation, and it was impossible to move large bodies of troops over them by daylight. Obviously no further advance was possible for the present. From the top of the plateau, from which we could observe the east bank, some strange sights were seen. Guns, lorries, and infantry seemed to be moving back in confusion toward Bourlon Wood. Mounted officers were galloping about apparently trying to rally the men, but without effect. In marked contrast, parties of machine gunners could be seen advancing westward to the canal bank, apparently oblivious of the retirement going on about them.

On the night of September 3rd/4th, the Divisions which had won the victory were relieved, the 2nd and 3rd Canadian and the First (British) Divisions coming into the line. Next day the First (British) Division, holding the sector from Palluel to Étaing, passed under control of the XXIInd Corps, and the Canadian Corps was relieved from responsibility for its long flank facing north. Facing the canal, then, it settled down

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for the next three weeks to await developments farther south and to make preparations for overcoming the next and the greatest obstacle in its way.

SECTION 5. THE BATTLES OF THE HINDENBURG LINE

From September 4th to September 27th the Canadian front remained stable. 'A thorough reconnaissance of our front had shown that the frontal attack of the Canal du Nord line was impossible, the eastern bank of the Canal was strongly wired and was generally much higher than the western bank. The whole of our forward area was under direct observation from Oisy-le-Verger and the high ground on the northern flank, and any movement by day was quickly engaged by hostile artillery. No battery positions within a range sufficient to carry on the preparation of the attack, or to support it, were available, and any attempt to bring guns forward of the general line Villers-lez-Cagnicourt–Buissy was severely punished. . . . The Canal du Nord was in itself a serious obstacle. It was under construction at the outbreak of the war and had not been completed. Generally speaking, it followed the valley of the River Agache, but not the actual bed of the river. The average width was about 100 feet and it was flooded as far south as the lock, 800 yards south-west of Sains-lez-Marquion, just north of the Corps southern boundary. South of this and to the right of the Corps front the canal was dry, and its bottom was at the natural ground level, the sides of the canal consisting of high earth and brick banks. The attack of the Canal du Nord could not therefore be undertaken singly by the Canadian Corps, but had to be part of a larger scheme. This required considerable time to arrange and until September 27th no changes developed on the Corps front.' In these words the Corps Commander explains the reasons which led him to refuse to make a frontal assault on the northern part of the Canal Line and to make other proposals for overcoming the barrier.

During this period of quiet one of the most popular and successful of the leaders in the Corps left for another command. Major-Gen. L. J. Lipsett of the 3rd Division gave up the division which he had led since 1916, and went to take charge of the Fourth (British) Division, whence very shortly the sad

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news came back that he had been killed. A Regular officer of the British Army, he had been with the Canadians since the days when he took the 8th Winnipeg Battalion across with the first contingent; and in every unit he commanded from battalion to division he had succeeded in inspiring his own strong sense of discipline, personal courage, energy, and resourcefulness. He was succeeded in the 3rd Division by Major-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis from the 2nd Brigade.

Farther to the south the Third and Fourth Armies were fighting their way through the screen of defences which lay in front of the main Hindenburg Line, and by the last week of September the time had come for the great series of simultaneous and converging attacks from the Argonne to the sea, which was to burst through the last of the enemy's organized defences and threaten the destruction of the German forces. On the right flank the French and Americans attacked towards the north-east; in the centre the British struck at the heart of the whole German system, the Cambrai–St. Quentin defences; and on the left Belgians, British, and French overran Flanders and the coastal area. Of these attacks success was most important in the centre, on the British front, as Sir Douglas Haig's dispatch has pointed out, and here was the most highly organized of the enemy defences.

On September 15th the general scheme of G.H.Q. for this central attack by the First, Third, and Fourth Armies was received. By the end of the month the Third and Fourth Armies would be in position to assault the main defences from Cambrai to St. Quentin—the Hindenburg Line. The crossing of the Canal du Nord on their left was to be part of this operation. The First Army, represented by the Canadian Corps, was to protect the left flank of the advance by forcing the passage of the Canal and then seizing the high ground about Bourlon Wood which formed the key to Cambrai. Later the task of the Corps was enlarged and a second phase was added to it, the capture of the bridges over the Canal de l'Escaut (Scheldt Canal), and the seizure of all the high ground north of Cambrai overlooking the Sensée River. To assist in carrying out this task the Eleventh Division and a battalion of tanks were placed under General Currie's control. The date was fixed for September 27th.

The first step was to cross the Canal, and General Currie's

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proposals for crossing otherwise than by the hazardous and costly method of a frontal attack were adopted. To the south of the Corps, in front of Inchy and Mœuvres in the area of the XVIIth Corps, the canal was still dry and consisted only of the brick and earth walls built up from the ground level. Here a crossing might be practicable. General Currie therefore proposed that the Canadian Corps should side-step to the south so as to come opposite to part of this front, should pour its troops through the narrow opening thus afforded, and then spread out on the eastern side of the canal overrunning the defences along the eastern bank from the south and pushing out fan-wise to the north and east. 'This intricate manœuvre called for most skilful leadership on the part of commanders and the highest state of discipline on the part of the troops'; but Currie believed that the Corps was capable of performing it, and September 27th abundantly justified his confidence.

The operation was full of risks and difficulties. The Corps front, as taken over, extended for 6,400 yards along the canal. Of this the northern 3,800 yards were flooded; the Corps had therefore to cross on the narrow remaining front of 2,600 yards and then spread out as it advanced to a front of 15,000 yards. All the attacking troops had to be assembled in the restricted space behind the dry part of the canal, and here, crowded together, they were under danger of a very damaging bombardment should the Germans get an inkling of what was afoot. Moreover, even if the infantry succeeded in crossing, the attack would be a failure unless the engineers could construct bridges quickly for the artillery and transport behind to follow. The most minute preparations had to be made. Engineer stores were collected and brought as far forward as possible, while engineer officers reconnoitred the canal from aeroplanes for the best crossings. The time-tables for the use of each bridge had to be worked out carefully in advance. The artillery had an intricate problem of their own in planning the barrage to protect an advance which would be moving in different directions at the same time; and the advance was to be so lengthy that a large part of their guns must be mobile in the highest degree. It was to be a battle which would make the greatest demands on the technical efficiency of every branch of the service.

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The area to be attacked was of vital importance to the Germans because its capture would deny them the use of the railways converging on Cambrai, and threaten all their lateral communications to the north and south. They were therefore prepared to put up a stubborn fight for it, and the energy with which they had counter-attacked in the Bourlon battle of 1917 showed the value which they attached to this ground. Over the forward part of it they had constructed a strong system of defences. Immediately east of the canal ran the trench known as the Canal du Nord Line, still only partially dug and wired. The villages in front of it along the canal bank were also fortified with nests of machine guns, and the whole east bank of the canal formed a tangle of defences that would require considerable mopping up. Behind the canal the ground sloped upward to the commanding 100-metre height of Bourlon Wood and to the slightly lower stretch of open ground about Pilgrim's Rest north of it. About half-way between the Canal du Nord Line and the wood and village of Bourlon ran another trench, the so-called Marquion Line, which was deeply dug and strongly wired. Bourlon Wood itself with the village of Bourlon at its north-west corner and that of Fontaine-Notre-Dame at its south-east corner was a position which, as the attack of November 1917 had shown, would require heavy fighting to take and to hold. Farther back behind Fontaine ran the northern end of the Marcoing Line, a double row of trenches forming the support to the main Hindenburg Line. Behind this again the embankment of the railway to Douai formed a natural line of defence capable, as experience was to show, of prolonged resistance; it was protected by two belts of wire and 50 machine guns were found along it in one stretch of 1,000 yards. The triangle beyond the railway formed by the Scheldt and Sensée was a plateau cut up into a series of ridges by long ravines running into it mostly from north-east to south-west. Of these the most important was the narrow wooded valley which ran up towards Blécourt through Bantigny and which was to prove a terrible stumbling-block in our progress.

General Currie decided that the initial attack should be carried out by the 4th and 1st Divisions. Crossing the canal on a front of 2,600 yards, they were to push on till they were in possession of Bourlon Wood and the high ground north of

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it as far as the Bois de Cocret and Dartford Wood. This, the first phase of the operation, included the capture of Bourlon village by the 4th Division, and of Sains-lez-Marquion and Marquion along the canal by the 1st. At the same time the XVIIth Corps on the south was to attack as far as Fontaine-Notre-Dame, which was in its area. All this having been accomplished and the front having now expanded to about 10,000 yards, the 3rd Division was to come in on the right taking over part of the 4th Division's front, and the Eleventh Division was to come in on the left relieving part of the 1st.

In the second phase the four divisions were to push outwards. On the right flank the 3rd Division, in touch with the XVIIth Corps, would advance towards the northern outskirts of Cambrai going through the Marcoing Line. In the right centre the 4th Division would seize Raillencourt and Sailly with the northern portion of the Marcoing Line. In the left centre the 1st Division would push north-eastward towards the Douai road. On the left the Eleventh Division would advance to the north and seize Épinoy and Oisy-le-Verger. The XXIInd Corps, meanwhile, was to mop up the eastern bank of the canal on its front and work northward towards the Sensée in touch with the Eleventh Division. After this, if all went well, the advance would continue until the whole area bounded by the Canal du Nord, the Sensée, and the Canal de l'Escaut was in our hands and the all-important bridges over the latter beyond Cambrai had been seized. This would pinch out Cambrai from the north, and the XVIIth Corps was to perform a like operation against it from the south.

For the first phase of the attack, that by the 4th and 1st Divisions, three objectives were set, the Red, Green, and Blue Lines (see map). The Red Line followed the course of the Marquion Trench as far as the north end of Sains-lez-Marquion. The Green Line ran along the western edge of Bourlon Wood, including the village of Bourlon, and thence in a north-westerly direction to Marquion. The Blue Line ran along the far side of Fontaine (in the area of the XVIIth Corps) and Bourlon Wood and thence north-westerly, including all the high ground which was vital to secure our crossing over the canal.

The plan of the 4th Division was to cross the canal on its 1,500 yards front and take the Red Line with the 10th Brigade. Then, as the front expanded, the 11th on the right

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and the 12th on the left were to go through to the Green Line, the 12th being responsible for Bourlon village. The large area of Bourlon Wood was not to be assaulted directly. Before the attack it was dosed with a concentrated bombardment of gas to prevent any of the enemy from assembling in its cover. When the 4th Division troops reached it, they were to work around its north and south edges and join hands on the far side. Then, after the gas had dissipated, they could proceed to mop it up at their leisure.

By the time they had reached the Blue Line the 11th and 12th Brigades would be 6,000 yards beyond the canal. This long advance imposed a difficult task on the artillery supporting them. For the initial barrage most of the guns, which had to be sited far back from the canal out of observation, would reach only to the Red Line. But the four Brigades of the 3rd and 4th Divisional Artillery were specially reserved to follow the infantry and come into action at the canal bank. They had to be there inside of three hours, which meant movement in the dark. Once in position they would continue the barrage forward, and as the other Brigades behind reached the limit of their range they would be moved forward in turn. This leapfrogging arrangement worked perfectly. The division had a barrage of one gun per 17 yards up to the Red Line and of one gun per 28 yards from there to the Blue Line.

The most intricate part of the manœuvre of the crossing fell to the 1st Division. Crossing the canal on a front of 1,100 yards it had gradually to extend until it was covering 6,000, and the extension included a change of direction to the north on its left flank and the mopping up of the canal bank. Everything depended on this and it is worth following the plan of the 1st Division in some detail.

Each brigade was given a different kind of task. On the right, the 1st Brigade was to make a series of frontal attacks, crossing the canal, going through the Canal du Nord and Marquion Trenches and thence on to the Blue Line. The 4th Battalion was made responsible for the Red Line, the 1st for the Green, and the 2nd and 3rd for the Blue Line.

The task of the 3rd Brigade was much more complicated. Its 14th Battalion leading the way was to cross the canal, capture the Red Line frontally, attack the Canal du Nord trench in enfilade as far as the Red Line, and then turn west

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and attack Sains-lez-Marquion from behind. The 13th coming on after the 14th was to attack the Green Line frontally, mop up the Canal du Nord Line as far as the Green Line, and then turn west and clean up Marquion and the area back to the canal. The 15th was to be responsible for the Blue Line, while the 16th was held in reserve west of the canal. For these manœuvres a special internal barrage was arranged. It rolled forward to the line of the wire of the Canal du Nord Trench; then, as the 14th Battalion came along, it began to roll back towards the guns and the infantry moved westward with British shells bursting between them and their own guns.

The 2nd Brigade (Brig.-Gen. R. P. Clark) was to come in between the 1st and 3rd on the Green Line and then proceed to capture the centre portion of the Blue Line. Having done this, it was to become responsible for the whole divisional front and at zero plus nine hours was to move on against Haynecourt and as far beyond as possible. This later advance was out of the range of the regular barrage, but, as a matter of fact, the two brigades of the 1st Divisional Artillery got forward in time to cover it as far as the Douai road.

The night of the 26/27th was an anxious one for everybody. The 4th and 1st Divisions took up their assembly positions facing the narrow defile through which they had to pass and waited. Here they were crowded with the guns which had been concentrated for one of the greatest barrages of the war, and disaster might have resulted had an enemy bombardment begun. Measures had been taken to neutralize any such bombardment by counter-battery fire if necessary, but fortunately the Germans seemed to suspect nothing and the night was 'normal'. Rain began to fall and this made the ground slippery, increasing the difficulties of the crossing. But at zero, 5.20 a.m., the whole attack moved forward without a hitch.

On the 4th Division's front the 10th Brigade carried out its programme exactly according to plan. The splendid barrage proved very effective in keeping down the enemy machine guns and the leading battalions, the 44th and 46th, were quickly across the canal with few casualties. Some opposition came from the Canal du Nord Line; but the men were able to keep up with the barrage and at 7.15 the 47th

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and 50th, who had leapfrogged, were reported digging in along the first objective, the Red Line.

Here the 11th and 12th Brigades passed through for the next step, which was to involve much more fighting. The plan of the 11th was that the 102nd and 87th Battalions should advance in front as far as the Green Line, where the 54th would pass through the 87th and skirt the northern edge of Bourlon Wood, the 102nd keeping on along the south side. The 75th were in reserve on the right. The 102nd had a bad time from the start. As the XVIIth Corps were not up on their right, they came under heavy enfilade fire and were temporarily checked. Here Lieut. G. T. Lyall distinguished himself by twice rushing posts which were holding up the advance and by rounding up their garrisons and machine guns. These exploits and his conduct throughout this day and on October 1st, which earned him the V.C., were responsible altogether for the capture of 185 prisoners, 26 machine guns, and 1 field-gun, not to mention casualties inflicted, and materially helped his battalion forward against heavy opposition. The 75th came up to help and the two Battalions joined hands, the 75th prolonging the right flank. After they had made good the Green Line, they worked their way in the afternoon along the south side of the wood where touch was gained with the 54th, who had already worked round the north side. The village of Fontaine, however, still held out by the end of the day as our progress had outrun that of the troops of the XVIIth Corps who were to attack it. With this thorn in its side the 11th Brigade, which had already suffered severely, could go no farther and had to throw back its flank again facing the village, in which position it remained through the night.

Meanwhile the 85th and 38th Battalions of the 12th Brigade were storming Bourlon village. Most of their trouble came from the railway running north out of it, and here the 72nd had to send help before the 38th made good the Green Line at 11.20 a.m. The 85th had by this time cleared the village without much trouble. On the Green Line the 78th and 72nd went through and again had trouble from the left. Here the 72nd, who had lost the barrage, were held up by field guns firing point-blank, and had to stop and envelop them before they could go on. This they did, capturing 8 guns and 115

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prisoners ; and by 5 in the afternoon, with a fresh barrage, they had reached the Blue Line. Before this the 78th had reached their objective and beaten off counter-attacks.

On the 4th Division's front, therefore, the result of the day's fighting was to make good practically the whole of the Blue Line, 6,000 yards beyond the canal. The counter-attacks on the left, however, and the resistance of Fontaine on the right made any further advance impracticable. The 3rd Division, which was following behind to join in the second phase of the attack, had therefore to wait for its share of the battle until the next day.

The 1st Division had at the same time been winning a most remarkable success. On its right the 1st Brigade carried out its series of frontal attacks with complete success. Its start-off was helped by field guns of the 1st Battery, C.F.A., which fired point-blank from the west bank of the canal into the enemy posts on the far side and did great havoc. No check occurred till the Green Line was reached, when fire from the railway behind it gave trouble. The 2nd and 3rd Battalions leapfrogged here and were held up for some time. But by noon they succeeded in driving the enemy off and advanced to the Blue Line. Here they were ahead of the 12th Brigade troops on their right flank, who did not come up till later.

The attack of the 3rd Brigade went well as far as the Red Line. The 14th Battalion crossed the canal and, while one company advanced from here along with the 1st Brigade, the remainder swung north and mopped up the Canal du Nord trench and Sains-lez-Marquion according to plan. This was accomplished by 9.15. The 13th met with more trouble. Their right company attacking frontally reached the Green Line in time, but the companies working north encountered heavy and uncut wire. The tanks had not yet come up and the enemy had had time to rally somewhat during the wait on the Red Line. But a company of the 15th and some of the 7th coming behind helped to clear the trench. The 11th Manchesters of the Eleventh Division also joined in the fight, and Marquion was finally captured. The 15th then went on and by two o'clock were on the Blue Line. During this fighting a peculiar situation had developed along the canal facing Marquion. While the 13th were east of the village, the 15th and some of the Eleventh Division came under fire

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from the banks to the west as they tried to cross. Some of the engineers, who had already started bridge-building, were also fired on. But the troublesome machine guns were carried with a rush and the work went on.

The 7th Battalion of the 2nd Brigade were already engaged in helping the 13th before their task was supposed to begin. Marquion once clear, they pressed on to the Blue Line. Here some trouble was given by machine guns in the Bois de Cocret, but these were dealt with and the 7th reached the Blue Line and pushed patrols beyond without calling on the supporting battalion, the 8th.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon everything was ready on the 1st Division's front for the second phase of the attack to begin. The Eleventh Division passed through on the left, while the 5th and 10th Battalions of the 2nd Brigade continued the advance on the right. The 5th soon had Haynecourt and the 10th went as far as the Douai road. Here the line was held up by a belt of wire west of the road, while machine guns raked it from the front and from the right. Nevertheless, the men proceeded to cut the wire by hand and then crossed the road with a rush. East of the road more wire was met, and as the 10th were by this time beyond the troops on either flank, they decided to settle down for the night. The Brigade had now an exposed right flank of 4,000 yards, and this was guarded by the 5th and 8th Battalions, who had to beat off three counter-attacks.

On the left the Eleventh Division made an equally remarkable advance. By nightfall it had seized Épinoy and Oisy-le-Verger, while the Fifty-sixth Division of the XXIInd Corps had mopped up the remainder of the canal bank.

Thus the first day's attack had been wonderfully successful. The whole of the difficult manœuvre of overcoming the canal obstacle had been carried through and the two left Divisions had exploited their success for some 4,000 yards beyond the Blue Line. Had the 4th Division been able to push as far and seize the Marcoing trenches at the same time, much heavy fighting on later days might have been avoided. But it had gained the essential objective, the Bourlon position, and its failure to go farther was hardly its fault. While the infantry had been thus distinguishing themselves, the engineers and artillery had done their work with equal thoroughness. The

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first guns were across the canal before 9 in the morning and were soon firing from ground that had been German a few hours earlier. The bridges were speedily put into shape as had been planned, and all day long a steady stream of men and animals poured across to consolidate the gains on the far side.

For the next day, September 28th, the main task was to bring the right flank of the advance up in line with the left, though the ultimate objective was given as the Canal de l'Escaut. The 3rd Division now took over part of the 4th's front, as had been arranged for the second phase of the attack, and advanced east of Bourlon Wood with its 9th and 7th Brigades. The 4th Division, to its left, used the 10th Brigade. Zero for this attack was set at 6 o'clock in the morning. At 9 o'clock, when it was calculated that the right Divisions would have advanced sufficiently, the 1st Division was to attack on its front. As, however, the right Divisions failed to reach their objective till evening, the attack on the left did not go forward. The 10th Battalion indeed started again at the wire which had held it up the day before, but under heavy fire could make no headway and finally desisted. On the extreme left the Eleventh Division occupied the Bois de Quesnoy and worked into Aubencheul-au-Bac, but in general the centre of the line remained stationary.

The 9th Brigade, using the 43rd and 52nd Battalions for the first stages of its attack, pushed off at zero. As it was useless to try to advance until Fontaine had been dealt with, the 43rd were sent against the village though it was out of the Corps area. They cleared it after three hours' hard fighting, and at the same time the 52nd went as far as the Marcoing Line, where they were held up. The 7th Brigade attacking the Marcoing Line farther north, also found it a very tough obstacle. Its leading battalions managed to pierce the front trench, but the support trench held them up all the morning. The R.C.R. finally got in with the help of the P.P.C.L.I., but they, too, were stopped from going farther.

It was decided therefore to launch a fresh attack by both brigades under a barrage. On the 9th Brigade front the 58th and 116th, who had been in support, were now to take over the task, the 58th clearing the trench and the 116th attacking St.-Olle. On the 7th Brigade front the 49th and P.P.C.L.I.

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were to advance towards the Douai road. The attack was finally made at 7 in the evening and the first part of the programme was carried out. The whole of the Marcoing Line was cleared as far south as the Bapaume road, but the 116th were held up in the western outskirts of St.-Olle, while the two battalions of the 7th Brigade could only get about half-way to the Douai road. During the night the P.P.C.L.I. found touch with the 4th Division on the left, and with this partial success a day of very hard fighting came to an end.

The 10th Brigade of the 4th Division had found progress equally difficult. Its 47th and 50th Battalions met with little opposition until they reached Raillencourt-Sailly and the Marcoing trenches. Here they had stiff fighting, as had the other two units of the Brigade, the 44th and 46th, who attempted to advance farther. The 46th made some progress in rolling up the Marcoing Line to the north, while the 44th were able to fight their way across the open on the right. Here a counter-attack drove them in slightly, and it was not till evening that, attacking again in conjunction with the 3rd Division, they managed to reach the line of the Douai road and wipe out the salient in which the 1st Division had remained since its advance on the 27th.

The attacks of the 28th had given us the Marcoing Line and brought the whole Corps front within striking distance of the Douai Railway and the ground beyond. For the 29th another general advance was ordered to complete the second phase of the main attack. Resistance, however, which had been heavy on the 28th, now increased daily. The Germans were pouring in their reserves and, in addition to the four divisions in the line on September 27th, had employed six more by October 1st, as well as 13 of their Marksmen Machine-Gun Companies. This lavish use of reinforcements against our four divisions who had begun and continued the fight made progress very slow.[1] In addition our artillery had to work under great difficulties. After crossing the canal they were fighting under open warfare conditions, and from improvised

[1] In this connexion it should be remembered that the exhaustion of German and British man-power had reduced the numerical strength of both German and British divisions, so that a Canadian division was at this date at least 50 per cent. stronger than a British division, which was equivalent to or a little stronger than a German. Thus these four divisions were almost equivalent in numbers to six German divisions.

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positions were constantly called on to fire barrages at short notice. At the end of three days' more fighting only very partial gains of ground had been made and the ultimate objective, the bridges over the Canal de l'Escaut, still defied us.

On the 29th the 3rd Division used all three of its brigades. The 9th on the right was given the preliminary task of cleaning up the Marcoing Line as far south as the canal. This was outside of the Division's boundary, but the work had to be done to protect the right flank. The 58th Battalion undertook it and succeeded after a long fight. Meanwhile the 116th went on and penetrated through St.-Olle and Petit Fontaine as far as the junction of the Arras and Bapaume roads. The 8th Brigade north of them, using the 1st and 2nd C.M.R., pushed into the western outskirts of Neuville St.-Remy after St.-Olle had been cleared, and to the Douai road. At the same time the 49th and 42nd Battalions of the 7th Brigade made good the remainder of the Douai road as far as their boundary with the 4th Division. Fighting here among the outer suburbs of Cambrai, all three brigades made ground very slowly, and not till evening was their line finally established. It was still short of the bridges into and beyond Cambrai at which they were aiming.

The day's attack on the front of the 4th Division was done by the 12th Brigade, the 38th and 72nd Battalions leading off. Since the attack did not begin till 8 o'clock, they could not assemble in the open as far forward as the 10th Brigade had pushed on the previous day, and had to start from west of the Douai road. Immediately on crossing it the 38th came under heavy fire from the railway embankment in front and were soon checked. In the afternoon the 78th, under a fresh barrage, tried to push past them but were in turn stopped by the fire from the railway. Meanwhile on the left of the brigade the 72nd stormed Sancourt and swarmed across the Douai Railway. Some of them went on and penetrated Blécourt and rounded up a considerable haul of prisoners and machine guns. But the enemy soon discovered that they were not in force; and the first of a series of counter-attacks up the Bantigny Ravine, which gave much trouble in the next few days, drove them back to the line of the railway and finally into Sancourt itself, where, with the help of the 85th, they held firm.

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The two Divisions on the left made no progress. The 8th Battalion of the 2nd Brigade repeated the heroic attempt of the 10th, but with no better final success. To the north the Eleventh Division attacked twice at 6 and at 8 in the morning against the high ground beyond Épinoy, but both times had to fall back again. This meant that the left flank of the 8th was exposed, and machine guns and wire held up the advance. The right company pushed on for more than a mile towards the railway in front of Abancourt, but here they were in a hopelessly exposed position. Nevertheless, they beat off three counter-attacks before retiring to the line of the Sancourt–Épinoy road, where they were back almost to the position won in the first great advance of the 27th.

On the whole the 29th had been a day of rather exhausting and costly nibbling, but there was nothing for it except to keep on attacking until the enemy resistance should crack. Accordingly, a renewed assault along the whole line was ordered for the 30th. This was to be carried out in two phases. In the first the two right Divisions were to push forward across the ridge which looked down to the north on the Bantigny Ravine and to the south on the bridgeheads over the Scheldt at Morenchies, Pont d'Aire, Ramillies, and Eswars. When they had made good this high ground, Brutinel's Brigade was to pass through and seize the bridgeheads. In the second phase, which depended on the success of the first, the two left Divisions were to push north-eastward across the high ground which overlooked the Sensée. These ambitious plans were based on the hope that the enemy, after three days' mauling, would give in. But the first phase never came near being carried out, and consequently the second phase was cancelled.

The main attack for the 3rd Division was made by the 7th Brigade, the 8th holding the front facing the canal about Neuville St.-Rémy and waiting for developments. The attack started well. By 7.30 in the morning the P.P.C.L.I. on the right were well through Tilloy to the south-east, and the R.C.R. on the left had reached the road from Tilloy to Blécourt. The left companies of the P.P.C.L.I. came under fierce machine-gun fire, and at one time Tilloy was almost lost. But they were reorganized and in the end all counter-attacks were beaten off after an exhausting day's struggle. The R.C.R.,

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suffering from the same intense fire, had to fall back finally from their advanced position as the troops on the left were not up. Altogether the firing on this day was among the heaviest which the brigade had experienced, and the capture of Tilloy in the face of it was a fine achievement.

The 11th Brigade on the left met with the same hot reception. Its programme was to work along the high ground south of Blécourt in touch with the 7th Brigade and then to swing off southwards towards the bridgehead at Eswars, its left being protected by a bombardment and by smoke in the Bantigny–Blécourt valley. The attack was made with the 75th leading; they were to be leapfrogged half-way by the 54th, and the 87th were then to come on and make the southern swing towards Eswars. It was to be an exploiting operation, and the day showed that the enemy were still in no condition to be exploited. Yet the 75th got away well and passed the railway south of Sancourt which had caused such heavy losses on the day before. Beyond this point, however, as they tried to advance over the open in the daylight, they came under annihilating fire and suffered so badly that the battalion had to be withdrawn. The 54th and 87th, who tried to push forward, were also roughly handled and finally the attempt was given up. Every one was withdrawn to the railway and sorted out, and the railway remained the sole gain of the day.

For October 1st still another attempt was decided upon with the same objectives. After four days' fighting during which every unit had been engaged the men were extremely tired, and their losses had been heavy. But the enemy had also suffered severely and might this time be ready to give up the struggle if one more push were made. Accordingly, all four divisions were ordered to advance together, and the 2nd Division came up behind the 3rd and 4th on the right to take advantage of any openings which might be made.

On the right, on the front of the 3rd Division, the function of the 8th Brigade was again to form a defensive flank while the 9th Brigade carried out the attack. As before, the attack was to fall into two stages. First the high ground north-east of Tilloy was to be gained, and then the brigade was to wheel to the south towards the bridges from Morenchies to Ramillies. At the beginning all went well and the 43rd and 52nd, starting the advance, gained their first objective without much trouble.

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But on passing over the crest of the ridge to work down towards the canal they came under the heaviest fire from machine guns and also from field guns firing over open sights. The 58th and 116th passed through, but could get only about half-way down the hill, and by 9 o'clock the whole attack had come to a stop. Some of the 6th Brigade of the 2nd Division were close up behind, and it was arranged that they should attempt to work eastward under cover from the ridge and then bear down on Ramillies from the north. But this proved impossible owing to the enemy counter-attack farther to the left. Early in the evening the Germans attacked up the slope also from the canal, and the 9th Brigade had to draw in its line towards the crest. Here it remained, and during the night the exhausted men were relieved by the 2nd Division.

The 11th Brigade was again used for the 4th Division's attack, which this day had a narrower front. Blécourt and Cuvillers now came within the area of the 1st Division which extended to the south, and which by its simultaneous attack was to protect the left flank whose exposure had been so costly to the 11th Brigade on the previous day. For this day General Odlum sent the 102nd, who had been in reserve during the last attack, in first, and they made quick progress at the start. Their objectives south of Cuvillers were soon reached. From here the 87th, reduced by this time to the strength of a company, went on to the south-east and a patrol actually reached the outskirts of Eswars. But again the left flank and the Bantigny Ravine proved their undoing. When the 1st Division was driven back here the flank of the 11th Brigade was once more exposed, and eventually the more advanced troops had to retire. The bulk of the salient which they, with the 7th Brigade south of them, had created was retained and handed over to the 2nd Division that night, but the brigade was almost exhausted. 'It was apparent', says its Brigadier in his report, 'that both forces had been fought to a standstill and that the enemy, while he could still put up a defensive fight, had had almost enough.'

The attack which went best on this day, and then suffered most severely, was that of the 1st Division. Its two reserve brigades, who had not been in action since the opening day of the battle, were brought up. The 3rd on the right advanced towards Cuvillers and Bantigny, while the 1st on the left tried

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to take Abancourt. The 3rd started off splendidly, and its 13th Battalion, after clearing the balance of Sancourt, went on to Blécourt, which was quickly captured. The 16th then passed through and reached Cuvillers, while the 14th made their way to Bantigny. But by this time they were being punished severely by fire from Abancourt and the north side of the Bantigny Ravine, while pockets of the enemy in Blécourt, who had not been properly mopped up, came to life behind them. Then came a heavy counter-attack up the ravine. Three times the 14th beat off their assailants, but no men could hold out in the inferno of fire to which they were subjected. Slowly the advanced troops were driven back to Blécourt and then to the western side of the village, where a stand was finally made. The 1st Brigade meanwhile had been held up far short of its objective. On the right its 1st Battalion reached the railway line, but could go no farther; what troops penetrated beyond never came back. To the left the 4th Battalion was unable to push even thus far; and after lying out all day exposed to pitiless fire, the front troops of the brigade were finally at night withdrawn to a line about 400 yards west of the railway.

The failure of the 1st Division, as has been related, led to the exposure of the troops on the right and prevented them from getting on. Its failure in turn was partly due to the failure of the Eleventh Division to make ground on its left flank, where the high ground beyond Épinoy once more proved a stumbling-block. Thus the whole attack of October 1st seemed to have been largely wasted. To continue to batter against such a stone-wall defence with tired troops would have been useless, and General Currie now broke off the engagement.

In spite of the very small success of the last few days, later events were to show that the enemy were indeed fought out. The next attack swept over the ground which had defied us so stubbornly without meeting any resistance worthy of the name. The bitter fighting of September 27th–October 1st not only carried us through the last organized system of defences on the Canadian front, but, combined with fighting to the south, so exhausted the enemy reserves that the German armies became incapable of any further resistance. In using up these reserves the Canadians had done more than their share, for in their five days' battle they engaged and defeated

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no fewer than 10 divisions together with 13 Marksmen Machine-Gun Companies.[1] If these results were not immediately apparent to the tired men who were relieved on the night of October 1st, the 7,059 prisoners and 205 guns captured, as well as the great gains of ground since they crossed the Canal du Nord, were tangible proofs of victory.

. . . . . .

The week from October 2nd to October 8th passed in comparative quiet. During the night of the 1st/2nd the 2nd Division took over the line as far to the left as Blécourt, and next night the Eleventh Division, having been relieved of part of its left front, extended to the right to this point. On the extreme right the 8th Brigade remained in the line through Neuville St.-Rémy. In spite of the check to their advance the Canadians north of Cambrai were still farther forward than the troops to the south of the city, and it was decided to wait until these had come up so that a converging attack from both sides at once could be made. By October 8th this had become possible, and the front burst into activity once more.

The general plan was that on this day the XVIIth Corps should capture the Avoignt Ridge to the south-east of Cambrai, the Canadians co-operating by an artillery demonstration. Then both Corps were to move forward together. The 2nd Canadian Division was to force its way across the canal to Escaudœuvres, where its men would be joined by the British troops coming from the south. The 3rd Division, which would have house-to-house fighting, if it attacked, was to wait until the move of the 2nd was well under way and threatened to cut off the town. Then its patrols were to cross the canal on their front and clear the area so that the engineers could immediately set to work on the bridges leading into the town.

The task of the 2nd Division was the same as that which had held up the 3rd and 4th in their last desperate attacks. The exposed ground leading down to the canal had caused heavy casualties then and might do so again; it was therefore decided to attack at night. Under cover of darkness the men might reach the canal without having to go through the awful machine-gun fire, and they would also have a better chance of seizing the bridges before the enemy could blow them up. All three brigades were to be used. The main

[1] See note, p. 266

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attack fell to the 5th, which was to capture the bridges at Morenchies and Pont d'Aire and go through to Escaudœuvres. On its left the 6th (now under Brig.-Gen. A. Ross from the 28th Battalion) was to act as a flank guard and take Ramillies; while the 4th (now under Brig.-Gen. G. E. McCuaig from the 13th Battalion), working in the dark along the canal valley, was to pass through the 5th and exploit success.[1] As the operation involved the creation of a long left flank of over 5,000 yards from Ramillies back to Blécourt, this was thickened up by machine gun batteries; and in addition 1,000 gas drums were fired into the Bantigny Ravine on the night before the attack to make it difficult for the enemy to assemble there. Another problem was provided by the question of artillery support. A night attack could hardly follow a rolling barrage, and it was arranged to fire crashes on selected spots at certain times.

At the last moment on the 8th it was reported that the XVIIth Corps had failed to make its full objective. Nevertheless it was decided to carry out the Canadian attack as planned with the exception that the 4th Brigade was held back until the situation should be clear. At 1.30 on the morning of the 9th, in the middle of a pitch-dark night made more uncomfortable by squalls of rain, the attackers advanced. All engaged wore white arm-bands on each arm to distinguish them as silently they moved towards the canal.

The attack was a surprise and caught the enemy preparing for a withdrawal. Under the circumstances the 26th and 25th Battalions had little trouble in reaching the bridges which they rushed. Here an act of conspicuous bravery by an engineer officer, Captain C. N. Mitchell, won the V.C., and saved two bridges from destruction. Leading a small party ahead of the first wave of the infantry at Pont d'Aire to examine the bridges here, which were three in number, he found the first blown up but crossed to the next under a heavy barrage and cut the lead-wires laid to destroy it. Then he dashed ahead in the darkness across the main bridge, which was found to be heavily charged. While he was engaged in cutting the wires here the enemy attacked; whereupon he rushed to the assistance of his sentry, killed three Germans and captured twelve, and held the bridge till reinforced. When

[1] General Bell of the 6th Brigade was wounded October 1st and General Rennie of the 4th had taken a command in England.

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the infantry came up they speedily established themselves on the far side, and had reached their objective beyond Escadœuvres by 8 a.m. The 6th Brigade attacking at the same time had the 27th Battalion in Ramillies by 2.25 a.m., and its patrols to the left were pushing out unopposed.

Meanwhile the 8th Brigade was pushing into Cambrai. Before dawn its patrols had crossed the canal and the parties of engineers told off to prevent fires and explosions were soon working through the city. By 6.30 the central Place d'Armes was reached, and two hours later the whole city was in the hands of the 4th and 5th C.M.R. It had been given over to destruction, and fires were raging in many parts when the Canadians entered, which they only put out with difficulty. But the enemy had evacuated the place completely, and only one party, consisting of an officer and a few men left behind to carry on the work of destruction, was found. At 11 a.m. General Loomis of the 3rd Division made his entry. By this time Canadian and British troops had joined hands beyond the town and, as it was strictly speaking outside the Canadian boundaries, it was handed over in the evening to the XVIIth Corps. The 3rd Division being now pinched out by the course of the advance went back to rest after having been continuously in the line since September 28th.

Through the day the 5th and 6th Brigades continued to make progress. The district north of Cambrai, where we had been held up so long, now fell quickly. Aeroplane reconnaissance at dawn showed that the enemy had largely withdrawn from this area, and the 6th Brigade and Eleventh Division were able to make a great advance. By 9 o'clock the Canadians had Blécourt, Cuvillers, and Bantigny, and two hours later they were in possession of Eswars. The Eleventh Division met with somewhat greater opposition, but it took Abancourt and by evening was into Paillencourt. By this time the 6th Brigade was attacking Thun l'Evêque, where the 31st Battalion was finally held up for the day. East of the canal the 5th Brigade was approaching Naves.

On the 10th the attack was renewed by the 2nd and Eleventh Divisions. It was arranged that the 6th Brigade should first of all clear Thun l'Evêque, after which the divisional boundary was to be the line of the Canal de l'Escaut. East of the canal the 4th and 6th Brigades were to advance northward, the

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boundary line between them being formed by the road to Iwuy, along which Brutinel's mobile brigade was to operate. Accordingly at 5.30 the 31st Battalion resumed its attack on Thun l'Evêque, and by 7 it was in possession of the town. At 6 o'clock the main attack started east of the canal. The 4th Brigade, using the 19th and 18th Battalions in front, was soon through Naves, and advanced beyond as far as the Erclin River, where it was held up for some time. The 6th on the left could not reach the jumping-off line in time, but as soon as it came up, the 29th Battalion had little trouble with Thun St.-Martin. On the line of the Erclin, however, the 6th Brigade, like the 4th, was held up. Later in the day some of the 4th Brigade effected a crossing at the right flank and advanced for a considerable distance over the open country beyond. But the left of the 4th and the whole of the 6th Brigade line were unable to pass the river before dusk. The enemy resistance was once more stiffening, and especially in front of Iwuy his machine-gun fire was severe.

The Eleventh Division during the day cleared out the corner of the Sensée and the Scheldt and occupied Estrun. Farther to the left it entered Hem Lenglet along the Sensée, and thus the whole line of the Sensée was made good. The enemy had destroyed the bridges and flooded the area, so that any crossing to the north was for the time impracticable.

On the 11th the attack was resumed, the Forty-ninth Division now being in the line east of Iwuy. The 2nd Division continued to use its 4th and 6th Brigades, the latter of whom had the task of taking Iwuy. The plan of the 6th was that the 28th on its right should advance towards Iwuy, while the 29th on the left made a demonstration. When the 28th had cleared the village, the 29th were to cross the river and go forward. The size of the village made the mopping-up difficult, but by 10.45 it was in our hands. The 4th Brigade meanwhile with the 20th and 21st Battalions had advanced to the high ground between Iwuy and Avesnes-le-Sec alongside of the Forty-ninth Division. Here at 11 in the morning the Germans made a heavy counter-attack assisted by seven tanks. They forced the line back slightly, but the attack was repulsed and six of the tanks were knocked out by our guns. The line was consolidated along the Iwuy Spur, and here at night the Fifty-first Division relieved the 4th Brigade.

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October 11th is usually taken as the end of the Canadian share in the Battle of Cambrai. By that date all of the objectives of the Corps had been secured, and east of the Canal de l'Escaut the line had been pushed out beyond them. At 5 p.m. General Currie changed fronts with the G.O.C. XXIInd Corps and a new phase in the Canadian operations began. Fighting, indeed, was continuous, and the 2nd Division remained on its front for several days yet after the 11th, while the 1st had already begun attacks far to the left before the 11th. The dividing line between the Battle of Cambrai and the next phase, the advance to Mons, is therefore not clear-cut. But it is sufficiently so to afford an opportunity of summing up the results obtained since the Corps moved north from the Battle of Amiens. This cannot be better done than in the words of General Currie's Report.

'The Battle of Arras–Cambrai, so fruitful in results, was now closed. Since August 26th the Canadian Corps had advanced 23 miles, fighting for every foot of ground and overcoming the most bitter resistance. In that period the Canadian Corps engaged and defeated decisively 31 German Divisions, reinforced by numerous Marksmen Machine Gun Companies. These Divisions were met in strongly fortified positions and under conditions most favourable to the defence. In this battle 18,585 prisoners were captured by us, together with 371 guns, 1,923 machine guns and many trench mortars. Over 116 square miles of French soil, containing 54 towns and villages and including the city of Cambrai, were liberated. The severity of the fighting and the heroism of our troops may be gathered from the casualties suffered between August 22nd and October 11, and which were as follows:

	Officers.	*Other Ranks.*
Killed	296	4,071
Missing	18	1,912
Wounded . . .	1,230	23,279[1]
Total . .	1,544	29,262

Considering the great number of German Divisions engaged and the tremendous artillery and machine gun fire power at

[1] The proportion of wounded to killed and missing is very noticeably higher than in previous years. This is to be partly accounted for by the fact that the fighting was on the whole less stubborn, but was chiefly due to the greater facilities given by a successful and rapid advance for the evacuation of the wounded.

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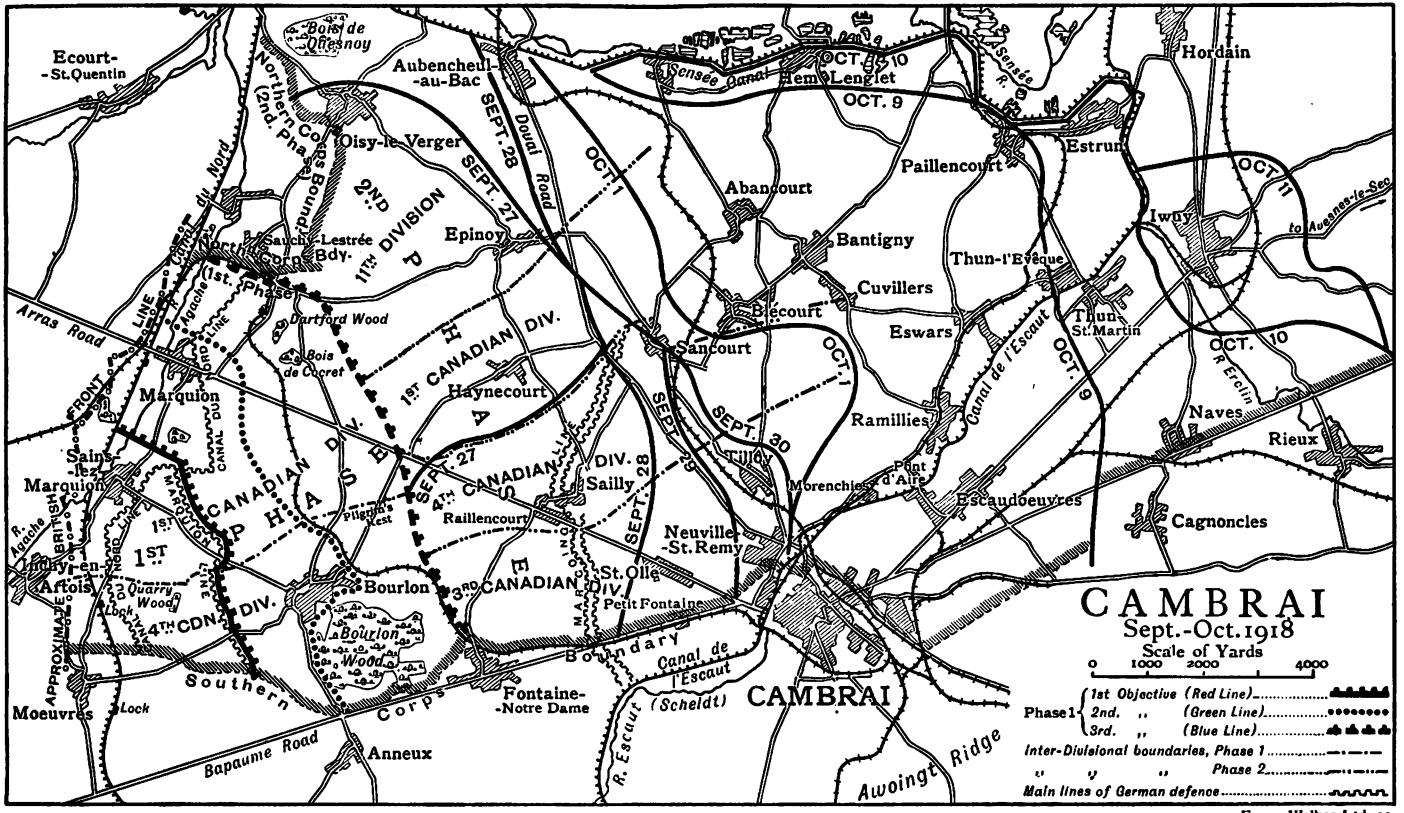

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their disposal, the comparative lightness of our casualties testifies to the excellence of the precautions taken by Divisional, Brigade, and Regimental Officers to minimize the loss of life, having ever in mind the performance of their duty and the accomplishment of their heavy task.'

SECTION 6. THE FINAL ADVANCE

The front for which General Currie assumed responsibility on October 11th extended from the Iwuy–Denain Railway north of Iwuy on the right to the Scarpe River east of Vitry on the left. It was held on this date by the 2nd Division as far as the Canal de l'Escaut at Estrun, then by the Eleventh and Fifty-sixth Divisions along the south bank of the Sensée as far as Palluel, and by the 1st Division along the Sensée and Trinquis as far as the Scarpe. The centre of this long line where it faced the Sensée marshes was stationary, but there was fighting on both flanks. On the right the 2nd Division was still continuing its attacks begun on October 9th, and on the left the 1st Division, which had entered the line on October 7th, was trying to force its way forward over the crossings of the Trinquis and Sensée.

The 5th Brigade attacking for the 2nd Division along the east bank of the Canal de l'Escaut on the 12th entered Hordain without opposition. Beyond this point the floods of the canal and enemy machine guns prevented further progress for the present and the line became stable until the general advance on the 18th. Meanwhile, on the 11th, the patrols of the 1st Division succeeded in effecting crossings on the front opposite them and by the evening of the 12th the division had swung its line forward, pivoting on the right, as far as the Canal du Nord. Here it, in turn, became stationary, and the Corps remained facing a water barrier along its whole front for the next few days. During this interval the Eleventh and Fifty-sixth Divisions were relieved by the 2nd and 4th Canadian Divisions so that the Corps returned to its normal composition.

On October 17th began the final advance. Many indications had shown that the enemy were preparing a withdrawal on a large scale, but the front still remained firm till the morning of the 17th, when on the left the 1st Division found the Canal du Nord practically unguarded and crossed without much

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opposition ; later in the day the 4th and 2nd Divisions managed to reach the north side of the Sensée, and before the day ended patrols of the 1st Division had entered Douai on the left and advanced some three miles with the 4th up to it on the right. Thus began the long 50 miles pursuit of the enemy which was continuous for the next three weeks except for the temporary check along the Scheldt while Valenciennes was holding out.

It would be monotonous to set down the full list of the villages captured each day and of the various inter-brigade and battalion reliefs. On the whole the fighting was light compared with that of the previous two months. As few troops as possible were employed and battalions covered fronts that would not have been dreamt of against serious opposition. The enemy usually withdrew during the night and our advance was resumed at dawn. During the afternoon resistance would stiffen sufficiently to prevent further advance without a serious engagement, and the line would become stationary till next morning. The enemy machine gunners who were in charge of this rear-guard fighting conducted their withdrawals skilfully, and, as usual, showed little of the demoralization which affected the other branches of the service.

A much greater problem than the actual fighting was the difficulty of maintaining a continuous advance across country in which the enemy had done their utmost to destroy communications. The railways were in ruins, bridges were blown up, and road junctions had been rendered impassable by the explosion of huge mines. All had to be repaired by the engineers before the supplies to feed the forward fighting troops could be brought up. The regular blowing of delayed-action mines along the standard railway lines days after our advance had swept beyond also impeded the moving forward of the railhead, and threw an additional burden on the motor transport which almost broke down under it. The fact that the Corps had the greatest trouble in advancing according to time-table after the Armistice, when there was no fighting to obstruct its way, is sufficient proof of the tremendous difficulties under which the administrative services had to work during the last three weeks of the war.

An additional task was imposed on these services by the necessity of caring for the hundreds of civilians, left half starving by the enemy, who now were found in all the liberated

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towns. Before Valenciennes was reached over 70,000 of them had been freed. These had to be fed out of army rations and many of them had to be treated by the military doctors. This was a labour of love, and the excitement of moving forward to be welcomed at each fresh step in the advance by enthusiastic French or Belgians gave fresh colour to the last weeks of an exceedingly drab war. But the sentiment in no way lessened the practical difficulties.

For the three days October 17th to October 19th the three divisions were in line together, the 2nd, 4th, and 1st. But the advance of the 19th, which covered an average of seven miles and included about 40 villages and towns, pinched out the 2nd Division between the 4th on the left and the XXIInd Corps on the right; and from this point the line was carried forward on a two-divisional front. The 19th brought us to the large town of Denain; and during the 20th and 21st the 4th and 1st Divisions continued until the former was approaching Valenciennes on the western side of the Canal de l'Escaut, while the latter was well into the large forest of Raismes.

The 1st Division had now been in the line for two weeks without having had much rest after the hard battle of Cambrai. On the 22nd it was relieved by the 3rd, and along the Valenciennes–St.-Amand Railway saw its last fighting in the war. The 3rd and 4th then continued to push on, and by evening of the 22nd practically the whole of the forest of Raismes had been cleared by the 3rd.

Another definite stage had now been completed. The Germans had flooded large areas along the Canal de l'Escaut, especially to the north-east of Valenciennes, where for several miles the country was converted into lakes intercepted by railway embankments and canal banks; and the Canadians found further progress stopped by the line of the canal. Resistance was increasing also, since the enemy intended to make a stand about Valenciennes. As the units on both flanks were still somewhat behind the Canadians, it was decided to make good the west bank of the canal and wait until preparations for crossing it and for overcoming the obstacle of the city's defences could be carried forward.

It was obvious that, failing an enemy withdrawal, Valenciennes could only be taken from the south. On the western side, where the Canadians were, the water barrier of the Canal

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de l'Escaut made an assault from this direction impracticable. The attack had therefore to wait until the XXIInd Corps east of the canal was within striking distance, and it was not until October 27th that the plan of operations was received from the First Army. The Fifty-first Division of the XXIInd Corps was first of all to carry Mount Houy, the height which commanded the town on the south. Then the Canadians, having crossed the canal behind them, were to carry the attack forward to the southern outskirts of the town and to the high ground east of it, thus outflanking the whole position. These attacks were to be part of a general operation carried out in conjunction with the Third and Fourth Armies.

On October 28th the Fifty-first attempted the first phase of the general attack but was unsuccessful. The Highlanders managed to gain a foothold on Mount Houy but were driven off again by repeated counter-attacks. The Canadian Corps was then ordered to carry out the whole operation. On October 29th/30th the 10th Brigade of the 4th Division relieved the left brigade of the Fifty-first in its line facing Mount Houy and prepared to attack again on November 1st. Any attempt to take Valenciennes had to meet special difficulties. The dominating height of Mount Houy, which commanded the ground between the canal on the left and the Rhonelle River on the right (the brigade boundaries), was a narrow ridge with only obvious lines of approach. Behind it Valenciennes itself could not be shelled, as we wished to avoid destroying the town, and this gave the enemy a chance to concentrate troops there in safety. A bombardment of gas shells was out of the question owing to the presence of civilians. It was absolutely necessary, however, to destroy the houses along the eastern bank of the canal, as they were infested by machine guns which could hold up any attempt to cross. In front of the town to the south our position across the canal gave a splendid opportunity to use enfilade machine guns and artillery fire during the advance, and advantage of this was taken in arranging the barrages.

The plan was that the 10th Brigade (now in charge of Brig.-Gen. J. M. Ross, Gen. Hayter having gone to be B.G.G.S. at Corps Head-quarters) should advance from the south, while the 12th Brigade was to force its way into the town across the canal from the west as the attack of the 10th progressed.

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Three objectives were laid down: (1) the Red Line, about 2,000 yards beyond the jumping-off line; (2) the Blue Line along the southern outskirts of Valenciennes and Marly; this was the final objective for the first day's attack; (3) the Green Line on the far side of the town. In the event of weak resistance exploitation was to take place to this line on the first day. Otherwise the 11th Brigade was to carry on the attack to it on the second day.

At 5.15 on the morning of November 1st the assault began, and from the start it proceeded almost exactly according to plan. The 10th Brigade reported that never had they had a more satisfactory barrage, the enemy reply to which very soon slackened down under our counter-battery fire. The Red Line well beyond Mount Houy was reached in time by the 44th and 47th; and from here the 46th, leapfrogging the 44th, carried on the advance with the 47th as far as the Blue Line, the railway along the southern edge of the town. This was not done without some sharp fighting in spots, and Sergt. H. Cairns of the 46th won the last Canadian V.C. of the war for his behaviour on this day. Twice he rushed machine guns which were causing trouble and killed or captured their crews. A little later when the advance was held up by machine guns and field guns, although wounded, he led a small party to outflank them, killing many of the enemy, forcing about 50 to surrender, and capturing all the guns. After the Blue Line had been won he took a patrol towards Marly and captured 60 more. Here he was again wounded and still fighting collapsed.

The 10th Brigade lost 21 officers and 458 other ranks, but these casualties were far surpassed by the losses of the enemy, of whom 1,300 were captured during the day while over 800 dead were buried after the battle. Altogether the brigade could point to November 1st as 'probably the finest and most satisfying engagement in which this brigade has ever been employed'.

To the right of the 10th Brigade the troops of the Forty-ninth Division were held up short of the Blue Line by a German counter-attack south of Marly. The enemy held on to the steel works here for most of the day, and this prevented the 11th Brigade from going through to exploit success towards the north-east. On the left the 12th Brigade attacked with

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complete success, and by noon had two of its battalions, the 38th and 72nd, across the canal into the city.

Preparations were made for another set attack next morning to reach the Green Line. But during the night the Germans withdrew altogether and early next morning the whole town was in our hands without fighting. Patrols of the 12th Brigade reached St.-Saulve beyond it to the north-east, and the advance swept forward once more.

Valenciennes having fallen, the main difficulty for the next few days was encountered on the front of the 3rd Division, whose troops had to make their way north of the town over the inundated area about the canal. This was slow work, for there were only a few practicable passages and these were commanded by the inevitable German machine guns. But the patrols gradually worked their way forward. The most difficult tactical feature was a shale-heap in front of Vicq. This was taken on November 5th by the 5th C.M.R., and the town was entered.

By this time the leading troops of the 4th Division were attacking Quarouble on the Mons road, and on the same day farther to the right near Marchipont they crossed the Aunelle River on to Belgian territory. Next day, Nov. 6th, Quievrechain was taken by a sudden attack and the important bridges over the Aunelle and Honelle rivers were secured intact. On the night of the 6th/7th the 2nd Division relieved the 4th, and during the remaining few days of the campaign the Corps line was carried forward by this and the 3rd Division.

The advance was now into the midst of the thickly populated Belgian coal district, and the numerous villages, coal-mines, and slag-heaps gave the enemy excellent opportunities for defensive fighting. But in spite of this and of bad weather, progress continued without slackening as far as the approaches to Mons itself. On the 7th the 2nd Division south of the Mons road took Elouges, while the 3rd after helping to take Quievrain pushed on for over two miles along the north side of the road. On the 8th the 2nd cleared Dour ; and the 3rd reached the outskirts of Boussu along the road, while to the north it reached and crossed the Condé Canal. The inter-divisional boundary was now shifted to south of the Mons road so as to include the town of Mons itself in the advance of the northern division. Next day, the 9th, the 2nd Division went over four

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miles, including in its advance the twin towns of Wasmes-Paturages which had a population of 30,000, and was clear of the main mining district by night. The 3rd Division meanwhile had entered Jemappes and Cuesmes.

For the 10th the orders were that the 2nd Division should seize the high ground south-east of Mons, about the Bois la Haut, while the 3rd Division at the same time was to capture the ground north of the town including Nimy. This day the fighting was harder, since Mons was the centre of one of the enemy's lines of resistance. But the 4th Brigade managed to envelop the Bois la Haut from the south and during the night reached the Mons–Givry road. The 7th Brigade of the 3rd Division at the same time reached the western outskirts of the town, where the 42nd Royal Highlanders were in position south of the canal and the R.C.R. north of it.

During the night of the 10th/11th the Germans again retired and both brigades pressed on. By 8 o'clock on the 11th the 4th Brigade, with its 20th and 19th Battalions, had reached St.-Symphorien; and before 11, when hostilities ceased, the outpost line of the right divisional front, held by the 31st and 28th Battalions of the 6th Brigade, was five miles east of Mons.

The honour of entering the town itself fell to the 7th Brigade. All night long its patrols were pushing through and before 6 in the morning they had cleared the whole town. By the hour of the Armistice the 42nd and R.C.R. accompanied by the 5th Lancers, who now opportunely arrived to finish the war on the same spot on which they had begun it in 1914, had established the line a good five miles beyond. It is perhaps worth noting that the order that hostilities would cease at 11 o'clock was not received at Corps Head-quarters until after the news that Mons was in the hands of the 7th Brigade. There was practically no fighting after the receipt of the order and any casualties which occurred were due to odd sniping or shelling.

Shortly after dawn the pipe band of the 42nd was playing through the streets of the town. The Canadians were enthusiastically received by the inhabitants. The chimes played Tipperary, and the welcome which had greeted the whole course of the advance during the past month found its culmination in Mons itself.

Brig.-Gen. J. A. Clark of the 7th Brigade was presented with the keys of the town in token of the fact that his troops had

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liberated it, and the Brigade Staff took up their lodging in the house which had once been the Head-quarters of Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria. At 3.30 in the afternoon the Corps Commander, Sir Arthur Currie, made his formal entry escorted by a guard of the 5th Lancers of which every member had seen service at Mons in 1914. The war was over, and the Canadians were justly proud of Sir Douglas Haig's last communiqué 'Canadian troops of the First Army have captured Mons'.

SECTION 7. AFTER THE ARMISTICE

It was a compliment both to the fighting record of the Corps and to the discipline and smartness of its troops that it should be among the forces selected to take part in the occupation of the Rhine area. Eventually, owing to difficulties of transport and supply, the authorities were unable to take all four of its divisions, and the two senior ones were chosen for the honour. The 3rd and 4th, who had to be left behind, advanced into Belgium and wintered there in the area south of Brussels.

On November 17th the 1st and 2nd Divisions began their 170 mile march to the Rhine. Their progress, like that of all the British troops, was delayed by conditions which made the bringing up of supplies over bad roads from an ever-receding railhead a very slow business; and, owing to the rainy weather, the march was on some days a real hardship. But on December 4th, with flags flying and bands playing, they crossed the German frontier. Nine days later they marched across the Rhine, the 1st Division at Cologne and the 2nd at Bonn. In the latter city Corps Head-quarters were established and the Canadians took charge of the southern part of the British bridgehead. Here the two divisions settled down for their last Christmas away from home, and here they remained until, early in the new year, they came back to be demobilized.

The problem of demobilizing the thousands of Canadians in France and England was naturally a complicated one, and it was made more difficult by the limited shipping facilities. As in the British forces, a scheme of demobilization by categories was drawn up, which was applied to the troops in the various English centres and to all those in France outside the Corps and the Cavalry Brigade. But in the Corps itself opinion

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was strongly in favour of returning home by units, and the Corps Commander made representations to this effect to the Overseas Ministry in London. Accordingly the four divisions, the cavalry, and the Corps troops, were brought back one by one to England and thence transferred to Canada, each formation remaining intact as it had fought in France. The first to arrive were the troops of the 3rd Division, and they were followed by the 1st, 2nd, and 4th, the last reaching Canada in June. At home they proceeded to their appropriate Military Districts, where they were met by enthusiastic welcomes, and demobilization followed immediately.

A notable feature of the activities of the demobilization period was the work of education carried on both in England and across the Channel, to which reference has already been made.[1]

By the end of July the bulk of the Canadian Overseas forces had left England. Some delays had been inevitable owing to shipping scarcity, and these tended to obscure the real rapidity with which the work of demobilization was carried out. The resulting discontent swelled in some cases, notably at Kinmel Camp in March, to riots ; and these incidents, along with some others, which seemed to testify to bad feeling between Canadians and their English hosts, came as an unfortunate ending to four years of uniformly good relationships. But they were due no doubt to reaction after the long overstrain of war and can well afford to be forgotten in the memories of a long period of whole-hearted co-operation.

Canada made notable contributions in food, munitions, and money to the Allied cause, but her unique contribution was the Canadian Corps. Its fighting record has been set down here in the baldest language. The official military history of its organisation and its battles has yet to be written; and the stories of the particular units, with their wealth of personal incident, are only now being published. Together they will make plain the double foundation of its wonderfully successful career—on the one hand the splendid individual qualities of its citizen soldiers which made the name Canadian a proud one among all the Allied fighters, and on the other the thorough organization efficient to the minutest detail, the brilliant leadership, the discipline and concentration of purpose,

[1] See above, pp. 75–6.

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the spirit of Corps loyalty, all those forces which combined to mould an aggregation of non-professional soldiers into a great military machine unsurpassed on the western front. For the Corps could boast that in the last two years of the war it had been given no task, however severe, which required hard fighting or highly efficient technical organization, or both, and which it had failed to carry out successfully. Its professional record was second to none.

Canada began the war with practically no military experience and with only a half-developed national spirit. The divisions and brigades and battalions who won imperishable glory for themselves in France were new creations with nothing but a number to distinguish them and with no regimental traditions to guide them. To-day an effort is rightly being made, by embodying the overseas units in the reorganized Militia, to perpetuate the traditions which they have made and brought back. But their history is the property not of the Militia so much as of the whole Canadian people. For the Canadian Corps is the greatest national achievement of the Canadian people since the Dominion came into being ; and its story is to be cherished not only as proof of Canadian military capacity but as the noblest example yet given of the ability of Canadians, working in concert with a single inspiration, to accomplish great ends. It is true that the Corps and other Canadian units received valuable assistance throughout their career from the many British staff officers attached to them in various capacities. But their performance was essentially Canadian. The four years' career of her fighting troops in France forms the real testimony to Canada's entrance into nationhood, the visible demonstration that there has grown up on her soil a people not English nor Scottish nor American but Canadian—a Canadian nation.

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APPENDICES

I. TOTAL ENLISTMENTS

Ontario	245,677
Quebec	82,793
New Brunswick	25,864
Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia	33,342
Manitoba	66,319
Saskatchewan	37,666
Alberta	45,146
British Columbia	51,438
Yukon	2,327
Total	590,572

II. TOTAL NUMBER IN ENGLAND AND IN THE VARIOUS THEATRES OF WAR AT DECEMBER 31, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918

	England.		*Overseas from England.*	
	Officers.	*Other Ranks.*	*Officers.*	*Other Ranks.*
1914	1,401	28,841	93	1,049
1915	2,275	37,333	2,676	49,718
1916	7,786	123,243	4,452	104,251
1917	6,888	103,329	6,138	134,542
1918	7,000	98,376	6,645	138,394

The strength of the Canadian Corps at date of the Armistice was 110,600.

III. CASUALTIES

	Killed in Action and Died of Wounds.		*Died. Other Causes.*		*Missing.*		*Prisoners of War.*		*Wounded.*	
	O.	*O.R.*	*O.*	*O.R.*	*O.*	*O.R.*	*O.*	*O.R.*	*O.*	*O.R.*
1914	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
1915	142	2,832	14	258	21	1,030	39	1,271	367	8,597
1916	594	12,138	50	555	64	2,059	39	995	1,583	37,927
1917	929	19,021	9	947	139	3,220	42	296	2,015	49,326
1918	871	14,342	161	2,016	128	1,458	10	126	2.379	47.515
Total	2,536	48,333	234	3,796	352	7,767	130	2,688	6,344	143,365

Of the above missing 305 officers and 7,100 other ranks were accounted for up to December 31, 1918, leaving 47 officers and 667 others ranks missing

HONOURS

1.	V.C.		64
2.	K.C.B.		8
	C.B.		43
3.	G.C.M.G.		1
	K.C.M.G.		5
	C.M.G.		169
4.	M.V.O.		2
5.	C.B.E.		48
	O.B.E.		253
	M.B.E.		97
6.	D.S.O.		705
	Bar		103
7.	M.C.		2,867
	Bar		310
8.	D.F.C.		39
	Bar		4
9.	A.F.C.		16
10.	D.F.M.		1
11.	D.C.M.		1,919
	Bar		38
12.	M.M.		12,225
	Bar		873
13.	R.R.C.		312
	Bar		3
14.	Mentioned in Dispatches		4,501

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SECTION III

GENERAL SUMMARY

BY THE EDITOR

THE appendices to the last section show that the total enlistments in Canada from the beginning of the war to the Armistice amounted to 590,572 men. This was exclusive of between 14,000 and 15,000 British and Allied reservists who rejoined their respective armies. Out of this total, 418,000 went overseas; between 50,000 and 51,000 were killed in action or died of wounds, in addition to those who died from other causes; and nearly 150,000 were wounded. Comparatively few Canadians were taken prisoners, and the distinctions won ran into many thousands. But it is superfluous to quote statistics to illustrate the quantity or the quality of the fighting effort of Canada. It constituted, in Lord Byng's words, a 'page of history which would be the theme for all readers in the hereafter'.[1] Nor is it necessary to make further reference to the industrial effort of the Dominion and the contributions to war purposes and war charities. The object of this book is to attempt to give to each part of the Overseas Empire its own special setting in the war, to try to estimate how far and in what particular ways each part contributed to the common cause, and conversely to what extent and in what ways the common cause and the war which gave added life to the common cause, shaped and coloured the history of each part.

There are some conclusions of general application to the whole Empire, which are sufficiently obvious not to need repeated insistence. Everywhere the war had a tendency to equalize in all directions, class and class, race and race, man and woman. Everywhere it tended to accelerate and expand movements which were either in embryo or in the youth of active life before the war. The self-governing dominion became more self-governing; the patriot was more patrotic; the

[1] Speech to the Canada Club in London, 28th July 1921.

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intransigeant Nationalist, the Pacifist fanatic, were the same as ever, only more so. For the war did not widen only; by narrowing the numbers of the 'antis' and the impossibles it made the remaining impossibles narrower than before. Everywhere again, where there were raw products to be procured, those products, with hardly any exception, were in abnormal demand, with the result of abnormal profit to the lands which produced them. Everywhere the strain of the war, the shortage of shipping, and the insecurity of the sea, tended to make each land and people more dependent than before upon its own resources, with the consequence that every conceivable resource was developed and every possible makeshift and substitute tried. These and some other features were common to the whole Empire, but what was there special in the case of Canada?

Canada is in every sense the premier self-governing Dominion. In geography, of all the great Dominions and Provinces of the Empire, it is the nearest to England; it is unique in being conterminous with a great foreign Power; and it is the bridge of the Empire, linking the Atlantic and Pacific and providing an all British route to the far East and South. Once more, it is a land whose immensity has provided an abundance of strong contrasts, which have been reflected in Canadian history. Taking these features as a background, let us see how Canada figured in the war.

None of the young nations of the Empire required any lead in the war, but had they required it, to Canada it would have fallen, as of duty and of right, to give a lead to the others. On previous occasions of wars or rumours of wars, Canada showed no anxiety to take initiative or force the pace. It was not so when the Great War came. Canada was then at once to the fore, profuse in offers of man power and supplies, and promptly making good the offers and bettering them. This was in no way due to the fact that a French Canadian was not ascendant at the time, that Borden, not Laurier, led Canada; for Laurier was as unfaltering, when the crisis came, as Borden and as outspoken. Whether action would have been quite so spontaneous and prompt, whether co-operation would have been so very close, had Laurier and his colleagues been in power, may be doubted, but in any case the judgement of history must be that in 1914 Canada stepped

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at once into the front rank and that, in spite of recalcitrant nationalism in French Canada, the Canadian people would have it so and nothing less. This first place was never forfeited. More than any other leader, Borden, at the Imperial War gatherings, spoke for the young nations, for the claims which they had so fully established to greater equality of partnership, and more than any other Dominion, Canada not merely acted with, but, to an appreciable extent, acted for Great Britain and the Empire.

This was in some degree due to Borden's own personality, but more to the geographical position of Canada. The nearness of Canada to Great Britain and Europe of necessity brought Canadian soldiers to the main fighting line before any others from overseas, except the ever-ready Indian troops. The nearness of Canada, of necessity, as has been sufficiently emphasized already, kept the responsible leaders of Canada continuously and personally in touch with every phase of the war. Hardly any others in the Overseas Empire were so favourably placed for appreciating the actual facts and therefore were so well able to shape their policy in consonance with the facts and to impress the facts and the policy as eye-witnesses upon their people. The nearness of Canada led to the immense development of munitions work, wherein Canada acted directly as the agent of Great Britain and of the Empire, and whereby, over and above the general stimulus which was everywhere applied by the war, a wholly special stimulus was given to Canadian manufactures. The nearness of Canada, coupled with her proximity to the United States, coupled again with the double sea entry, enabled the Dominion, as has been seen, to act financially for the British Government and the Empire. The fact that the United States are conterminous with Canada of itself gave to Canada a special position in the war. Canada stood immediately and directly to lose or gain to an immeasurable extent by the attitude of the United States to the war and to those engaged in it. How great and growing would have been the anxieties of Canada had the American Republic been an increasingly unfriendly neutral? How overwhelming would have been her danger had the British blockade of the continental ports of Europe and the exercise of the right of search brought the United States, as in 1812, into the ranks of the enemies of the Empire? Canadian

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statesmen were for more than half the war at the closest quarters with an international problem, to which the other Dominions had no parallel. The possibilities of peace or war with the United States were a vital issue to the whole Empire, but that issue presented itself most nearly to Canada. Speaking in London in July 1921,[1] Sir Arthur Currie used the wise words that 'the great responsibility which lay before Canada was the responsibility of interpretation', to interpret the British Empire's mission, to interpret the mother country to the people of the United States. The responsibility was there during the war, it could not be and was not evaded, and in this respect, as in others, Canada, in no small degree, acted for Great Britain and the Empire. Once more, across the Dominion came and went Australians and New Zealanders to and from Europe, among them the political leaders in the southern seas. Canada therefore was kept constantly in touch with the Australasian outlook upon the war and the Empire. No other Dominion was similarly on the way, to none other therefore came the same first-hand knowledge of the conditions and the feeling of sister Dominions. In a word, the geographical position of Canada, apart from the will of her statesmen and her people, compelled her to take a leading place in the war.

The contrasts to be found within the borders of Canada and in the chronicles of Canadian history, from the early days of New France when the roving *coureur de bois* contrasted so strongly with the habitant tied to the soil, suggests some contrasts in the late war. If we take stock of Canadian overseas service in the war, we find a curious blend of concentration on the one hand with variety and dispersion on the other. The fighting effort of Canada is almost exclusively centred on the main battle front in Flanders and in France. Companying with the Australians and New Zealanders, we are with them in Egypt, at the memorable landing at Gallipoli, in the Sinai Peninsula, and in the clearance of Palestine. We are not held alone by the Western front, not attracted only to Villers-Bretonneux or to Bapaume. Reading of the duel between the *Sydney* and the *Emden*, we are reminded that there was a Commonwealth squadron in being, that Australians were in evidence on sea as well as land. If we

[1] Canada Club Dinner, *ut supra*.

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take service with the South Africans, we see fighting in South, East and, against the Senussi, in North Africa, before we come to the grim fight at Delville Wood. With the Newfoundland regiment, once more, we are taken to Gallipoli before serving in France. But from the first, from the day when Princess Patricia's battalion crossed the Channel, till the re-entry into Mons, the Canadians shed their blood and won their fame almost exclusively on the main front alone. And yet, as has been told above, Canadian detachments served in all parts of the world and on the most diverse lines. Canadians garrisoned Bermuda and St. Lucia. A small Canadian expeditionary force was sent to Siberia. Canadian Field Artillery and also instructors familiar with Arctic conditions served in North Russia. Canadian railway troops were sent from France to Palestine. A handful of specially selected Canadians were sent to Mesopotamia in connexion with the 'Dunster Force'. Or, if we disregard these small 'side shows' and fix our eyes solely but closely on the main front, was the Canadian effort on that front after all so concentrated as at first appears? The Canadian cavalry brigade fought throughout the war nearly always as a distinct unit, apart from the Canadian corps. Canadian airmen did not form a single unit at all, though a separate Canadian Air Force was being organized in the last months of the war. Yet fully a quarter of the whole number of officers in the Imperial Air Forces, and among the very best, were Canadians. Attached to all the British armies on the main front were Canadian railway units, and we have seen already that the construction of railways in the British area was very largely Canadian handiwork. Railway-making under rough and ready conditions was habitual to men whose calling it was to construct pioneer lines into the wilds, and the 500 picked men supplied by the Canadian Pacific Railway and sent to France in August 1915, at the time of the Armistice had multiplied to nearly 15,000. As the Dominion was a fine training ground for railway-makers, so were its backwoods for lumber men and foresters, and, when the Armistice came, the Canadian Forestry Corps in France numbered between 11,000 and 12,000, the numbers at work in Great Britain were little smaller, and the great bulk of the timber used on the Western Front was supplied by Canadians. At the time of the Armistice, according to the official figures, there were in all on active

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service in France and Belgium, outside the Canadian corps and not under the Canadian Corps Commander, between 38,000 and 39,000 Canadians, officers and men. Elsewhere inland water transport employed between 4,000 and 5,000 Canadians, nearly 3,000 were credited to naval services, and splendidly wide, including Salonika and Siberia, was the scope of Canadian medical and nursing aid. Canada illustrated at once concentration and variety in war service overseas.

If we look for contrasts within the Dominion during the war, where, in the absence of standing grievance as in Ireland, or of recent clash of arms and interests, could be found in a more marked degree, within the same political community, enthusiasm for the Allied cause side by side with indifference or antipathy to it? The Canadian West has been a great scene of alien immigration, but the West spoke with no uncertain voice in favour of the war. It was otherwise in the Province of Quebec. It will be said that a two-nationality Dominion could not be expected to be so uniformly on the British side as an all British Dominion, and that at any rate there was no armed rising in Canada, as was the case in South Africa. But the Dutch Nationalists in South Africa could put forward the plea for what it was worth, that they had lately been at war with Great Britain, that their republican institutions had been taken from them and they had been forced into the British Empire, that they had no race antagonism to the Germans; on the contrary, that, except for the admixture of Huguenot blood, they were more nearly allied in race to the Germans than to the Allies. In the case of the French Canadians, when the war came, political allegiance was at one with the call of the blood. They had no quarrel with the British Empire. In it they lived and thrived and enjoyed in fullest measure their own. France was the land of their forefathers, they spoke and speak the French tongue. Yet to Bourassa and his following the tie of blood counted for as little as political allegiance. There is the standing argument that Quebec looks back to the France of the Bourbon kings, that the French Revolution made an impassable gulf between French Canada and Republican France, that latter day anti-clerical France is abhorrent to the Roman Catholic priesthood of Quebec. But in the war France was between life and death, French ancestry was and is the pride of the writers of

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French Canada, the glories of France their constant theme. It seems passing strange that the sufferings and heroism of the mother land in no way stirred the blood of a large section of French Canadians, and raised enthusiasm among only a small minority. The Americans came into the war, but their entry left the attitude of Quebec as it had been—neither more warlike nor more pacific. The province was a strange contrast to the rest of Canada.

One more contrast may be noted, interesting in connexion with the general trend of Canadian history. The record of Canada is that of a very fortunate land and people, in spite of, sometimes because of, great reverses. The conquest of French Canada gave liberty to French Canada. The outcome of the War of American Independence, which at one time threatened the complete absorption of Canada in the United States, was the making of Canada. This war gave Canada her opening as a nation, and the second American war, the war of 1812, fraught with no less danger to her existence than the first, strengthened and confirmed her progress towards nationhood. In the late war there were again possibilities of danger from the United States, but the actual outcome was that, at the very time when the strain of war was most severely felt, Canada found on her southern border a close and most potent friend. Take once more two domestic incidents in Canada during the war—the burning down of the Parliament House at Ottawa and the Halifax disaster. Did any other part of the Empire meet with an accident of the first kind during the war, not an accident of the first magnitude, it is true, but singularly calculated to discourage and depress? Was there any catastrophe within the Empire of the same kind as the explosion in Halifax Harbour, which matched it in terrible completeness of suffering and destruction? Yet Canada went on her way and that way was one of amazing prosperity. She earned what she reaped, but she reaped much. She gave greatly to the war and in turn the war gave much to her. She was once more the child of fortune, but the fortune was largely of her own making and due to her own worth.

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PART II

NEWFOUNDLAND

BY

THE HON. SIR P. T. McGRATH, K.B.E., LL.D.

AND

THE EDITOR

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NEWFOUNDLAND

NEWFOUNDLAND, the oldest colony in the British Empire, is larger by one-fourth than Ireland, with a population of a quarter of a million, the capital, St. John's, being a town of 30,000 inhabitants. It keeps its old name of colony, and alone among the self-governing Dominions has no coloured element in the population, except that on the Labrador Coast, which belongs to the colony, there are a few hundreds of Eskimo. No other of the larger units of the Empire has to the same extent derived its life trade and sustenance from the sea. It has stores of mineral wealth; it has abundance of timber and paper-makers have turned its pulpwood to good account; but fishing men, fishing fleets, and fishing industry are the outstanding features of Newfoundland. It has ever been a nursery of sailors; its contribution to the defence of the Empire was before the war directed to the Royal Naval Reserve; and the foreign questions which have specially concerned Newfoundland have all been matters of fishing rights and fishing claims. Its Legislature, 'the General Assembly', consists of two Houses: the Upper House or Legislative Council is non-elective, the Lower House, the House of Assembly, is composed of 36 members elected by manhood suffrage and has a normal life of four years; the annual session is as a rule held in the early months of the year, and the fiscal year, as in Australia, runs from the 1st of July to the 30th of June.

The Governor, when the war came, was Sir Walter Davidson, K.C.M.G. He had served his apprenticeship in Ceylon, had been Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal in its Crown Colony stage, had governed the Seychelles Islands, and took up his duties in Newfoundland in February 1913. A capable and popular Governor, he saw the colony through the first three years of the war, leaving in the autumn of 1917 to become Governor of New South Wales. His successor, Governor when the war ended, was Sir Alexander Harris, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O., of the Colonial Office. There had been a General Election in October 1913 and a new House of Assembly met

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in January 1914. The House was new, but the Government was not, for the old Ministry had been returned to power by an adequate majority. The Prime Minister, Sir Edward Morris, had entered the House of Assembly in 1885, and held office for the first time in 1889. Born at St. John's, of Irish descent, he was 55 years of age in August 1914. A barrister by profession, he had been Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, and eventually, as head of the People's Party, became Prime Minister in 1909. He held that office without a break until January 1918, when he retired from public life and was raised to the peerage as Lord Morris. Vigorous and kindly, a man of capacity and strong good sense, he guided a difficult small community through difficult times with much success. He spoke for it at Imperial Conferences and furthered its interests in full harmony with the Home Government and with due regard to the wider interests of the Empire. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by another barrister, now the Right Hon. Sir William Lloyd, K.C.M.G., who had been a short time previously leader of the Opposition, taking the place of Mr. J. M. Kent, who led the Opposition at the beginning of the war. One and the same man, Mr., now Sir, Michael Cashin, was Finance Minister throughout the war.

When the returns of the financial year, which ended on the 30th of June 1914, were made up, the revenue for 1913–14, $3,618,000, had fallen short of the revenue of the previous year and failed to cover the expenditure by some $300,000. The funded public debt of the colony amounted to nearly $30\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The trade returns were not unfavourable, but on the eve of the war Newfoundland, like Canada, was undoubtedly suffering from commercial depression. The sea harvest had been on the whole disappointing and there had been shipping disasters. In July the Duke of Connaught came over from Canada to pay a short visit to the colony, and the Dominions Royal Commission was taking evidence in the island before the war began.

Relatively to resources and population, Newfoundland was no less forward than the other and greater Dominions to contribute its quota to the common cause. Offers were promptly made to the Home Government, to raise the Naval Reserve Force from 600 to 1,000 by the end of October and to enlist a Newfoundland regiment of 500 men, to serve at the sole cost of the colony

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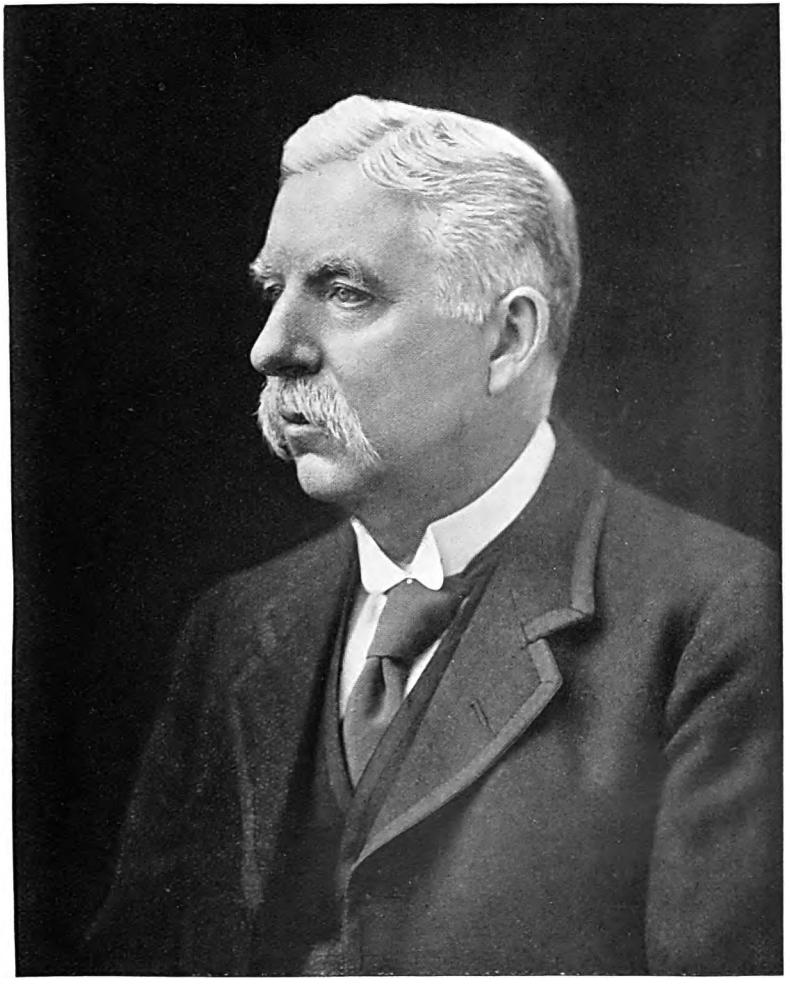

THE RT. HON. LORD MORRIS

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and to leave on active service by the end of September. The military offer having been cordially accepted by a telegram of the 9th August, without waiting for acceptance of the naval offer, which came on the 14th, a public meeting was held at St. John's on the 12th to promote enlistment for foreign service and to raise a corps for home defence. The Governor in the chair was supported by the Prime Minister, all were at one in endorsing the action already taken by the Government and in determination 'to assist in every possible way in the justifiable war in which the Empire, of which we are proud to be a part, is now engaged'. A committee was formed, of which the Governor was chairman, and took the title of 'The Patriotic Association of Newfoundland'. Acting for the Government in all matters relating to the land forces of the colony, it worked through various sub-committees, the two most important of which were the Finance Committee, presided over by Sir Edgar Bowring, now High Commissioner in London for Newfoundland, and in his absence by Mr. Cashin, the Minister of Finance, and the Reserve Force Committee, subsequently renamed 'The Standing Committee on Military Organization of the Patriotic Association', of which Sir Joseph Outerbridge was chairman, and Mr. J. A. Clift, K.C., deputy chairman. The Association was a happy admixture of public and private effort. The money required for pay, equipment, training, transport of the Overseas Contingent, and for the cost of the reserve force, was supplied by the Government, and public funds were supplemented by private subscriptions, designed primarily for the benefit of the sailors' and soldiers' families and dependants. The subscriptions were paid into a Patriotic Fund, the first public appeal for which was made on the 22nd of August. Following the example set by Canada, the fund was, by an Act passed in 1915 and at a later date slightly amended, constituted a corporate body in law. The last day of August saw the birth of another most effective agency. A general meeting, called by Lady Davidson, inaugurated the Patriotic Association of the Women of Newfoundland, Lady Davidson becoming President, Lady Morris, wife of the Prime Minister, Vice-President, and Mrs. Macpherson, Honorary Secretary. With their head-quarters at Government House, and with a network of some three hundred branches throughout the colony, the Newfoundland ladies, like

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their sister war-workers elsewhere, were untiring in effort and fruitful in achievement. They too had divers sub-committees : they worked in connexion with the St. John Ambulance Association in London, and from the first the scope of their work covered objects as far apart as Belgian relief in England, and in Newfoundland visiting the families of the fighting men.

As hands were joined in the colony for the purposes of the war, so there was complete co-operation between the Colonial and Imperial Governments. The Home Government eased the financial situation in the early months of the war by advancing £200,000 on the same terms on which Great Britain herself could borrow. The colony had offered to pay the whole cost of its land contingent of 500 men, but this arrangement was, on the initiative of the Home Government, modified in favour of Newfoundland. The Army Council took over the expense of maintenance and equipment from the date of landing in the United Kingdom, leaving the colony to bear all expenses before leaving Newfoundland, cost of transport, pay while on active service, and pensions of all kinds. The naval reservists were not a charge upon Newfoundland funds beyond the amount of £3,000, which the colony contributed to Empire defence before the war.

At the beginning of September the Legislature was called together for a short war session, and emergency laws were passed. There was the inevitable War Measures Act, amended in 1916, which gave to the Government the extraordinary powers needed in time of war. One law ensured control of foodstuffs, giving discretion, if thought necessary, to fix maximum prices, and another authorized the issue of paper money in lieu of gold. The raising of the contingent was legalized by a Volunteer Force Act. This Act was in the first instance passed for one year only, but its life was prolonged from year to year in the sessions of 1915 to 1917, and eventually, when compulsory military service was adopted in 1918, it was merged in the Military Service and Military Forces laws of that year. It was supplemented by a law which authorized a loan for the equipment and maintenance of the Volunteer Forces ; and ways and means were provided by financial Acts, reimposing customs rates which had been lowered shortly before the war, and raising additional revenues from stamp and death duties.

The first contingent, two companies, 537 strong in all, landed

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in England on the 14th of October 1914, and, before the year ended, it was decided, after communication with the Home Government, to raise the number to a full battalion of four companies, 1,080 in all, together with a reserve company of 250 officers and men. Over and above enlistments in the Newfoundland Regiment, Newfoundlanders took service in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and not a few were to be found serving in the ranks of the British Army. The call for Naval Reservists had been equally well answered, and at the beginning of September 100 Newfoundlanders completed the complement of the *Niobe*, which was patrolling the Atlantic coasts and waters of British North America, and which before the war had been in the service of the Canadian Government. Sunday, the 18th of October, was set apart in all the churches of the colony as a day of prayer and supplication for the protection of the British Empire.

The session of 1915 began rather late, on the 7th of April, and lasted till the 5th of June. The Governor's opening speech noted that the enlistment of volunteers under the special Act had been doubled and was likely to be trebled, that the total of 1,000 Naval Reservists had been reached, and more were coming in. On the 20th of May Mr. Cashin made his annual financial statement. On the current financial year, ending on the 30th of June 1915, a deficit, including war expenditure, was expected of no less than $714,000, and, when the accounts for 1914–15 were finally made up, the actual deficit proved to be $756,000, while the funded public debt, which on the 30th of June 1914 stood round about $30½ millions, had risen to $31½ millions. The Minister budgeted for a revenue and expenditure in 1915–16 of about $4 millions in either case. He took a hopeful view of the coming year, estimating for an increase in revenue of about $750,000—an estimate which was more than justified by the event. In this optimistic frame of mind he imposed no new war taxes, and contented himself with slight additions to and readjustments of existing duties. A Public Service Loan Act was passed, authorizing borrowing to the amount of $500,000; and among other Acts of the session was a Prohibition Plébiscite Act, providing for a referendum in the coming November on the question of prohibiting the importation and sale of alcoholic liquors.

The two companies of the Newfoundland Regiment, which

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were sent to England in October 1914, were followed by more companies and drafts in 1915; and by the end of that year 1,985 Newfoundlanders had enlisted in the regiment, and 1,287 in the Royal Naval Reserve. The battalion served in Gallipoli, where its losses were appreciable, mainly from sickness, and there were still heavier losses in the naval contingent. The war bill up to the 31st of December 1915 amounted to about $950,000, and the annual cost of the war to the colony thenceforward was estimated at $1 million. In August the Imperial Treasury made a second advance of £200,000 at a slightly higher rate of interest than before. The work of the Patriotic Fund and of the Women's Association grew with the growing number of men enlisted and the multiplying casualties: subscriptions were fully maintained: personal effort was unremitting: the whole colony was heart and soul in the war. As in Canada, so in Newfoundland, while the war made constantly increasing calls, it gave an immense stimulus to industry. The products of the colony were in abnormal demand at abnormal prices, and its nearness to Europe gave it a great advantage, the risks of overseas traffic in war-time being in proportion to the length of the voyage. Moreover, the industrial expansion of Canada under war conditions was of itself enough to provide in the immediate neighbourhood a profitable market for the resources of Newfoundland, whether human or material. Long before the year 1915 ended the pre-war depression was succeeded by abounding prosperity. The closing of German ports was of little account, except for the fact that Germany had been a good customer for Newfoundland lobsters. The ordinary markets for other fish were still open, the Latin countries, allied or neutral, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Brazil. There was a boom in the lumber trade, Newfoundland timber being in much demand for pit-props. Iron ore was also in great demand for the munition works in Canada, and the Bell Island mines were worked at high pressure. Hard by in Cape Breton Island coal-mining and steel-making readily absorbed whatever labour Newfoundland could spare. The whole community was hard at work and making good money.

The result was seen when the parliamentary session came round again. It opened on the 16th of March 1916 and lasted till the 4th of May. The Governor's speech referred to the

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prosperity of the past year, and in his budget statement on the 18th of April Mr. Cashin intimated that he expected a small surplus upon the current account for 1915–16, the customs revenue for the first nine months having been almost equal to the total receipts from customs in the previous financial year. Eventually, when the fiscal year had ended, the actual revenue proved to have been the largest on record, $4,600,000, exceeding the revenue for the previous year by $1,348,000, and yielding a record surplus over current expenditure of $431,000. The exports for 1915–16 were valued at nearly $19 millions, as against $15 millions in the year before the war. On the 30th of June 1916 the funded public debt stood at $34½ millions, and the total war expenditure up to that date amounted to $1,795,000. For 1916–17 the Minister proposed no additional taxation, though he contemplated expenditure as high as $4,165,000, and, moreover, expected to lose revenue in consequence of Prohibition. There had been a majority for Prohibition at the referendum in the previous November, and the policy was embodied in an Intoxicating Liquor Prohibition Act passed in the 1916 session. The annual loss to the revenue was estimated at $400,000, but, inasmuch as the measure was not to come into force until 1st January 1917, when half the financial year would be over, the loss for 1916–17 was not expected to exceed $230,000. A Loan Act was passed, which authorized borrowing up to $5 millions, three millions of which were for war expenses, and a loan was in September successfully floated in New York by the Prime Minister on terms quite as good as the borrowings of the British and French Governments. The legislation of the session included various laws necessitated by the war, among them a Trading with the Enemy Act.

In February 1916 the Colonial Government decided to offer to the Army Council a second battalion of the Newfoundland Regiment, 1,017 strong. The offer was accepted on the basis that the new battalion should be treated as a reserve battalion, supplying drafts to the first battalion until it was clear that sufficient reinforcements would be forthcoming to maintain two battalions continuously at full strength in the field; and so heavy were the losses, continuously to be made good, that to the end the colony was only represented in the fighting line by a single battalion. The Patriotic Association was entrusted

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with a recruiting campaign, the first call being for 2,000 volunteers between the ages of 18 and 30. The report of the Association issued on the 24th of May 1917 stated that up to the 20th of May 1917, 3,431 Newfoundlanders had gone overseas in the regiment, and 1,713 'of the best seamen in the Empire' had joined the Royal Naval Reserve. The regiment saw heavy fighting in France during 1916, notably at Beaumont Hamel: the number of casualties grew, and the work of the Association, together with the calls upon the Patriotic Fund, grew in proportion. A Pensions and Disabilities Board came into existence under the chairmanship of Mr. (now Sir) P. T. McGrath, and the Canadian scale of pensions was adopted for the land contingent, while the pensions granted by the Admiralty to the Naval Reservists were supplemented so as to bring them up to the level of the soldiers' pensions. Hospitals were established for invalided or disabled fighting men, and an Employment Committee watched over their return to civil life. In London a Pay and Record Office was established, and a Newfoundland War Contingent Association; and, while the needs of the Newfoundlanders on active service were amply supplied by their fellow countrymen and women, the stream of island beneficence continued to flow also into many other channels. One of the various war funds, the St. John Ambulance Cot Fund, maintained approximately the same number of beds in British hospitals as were occupied by sick and wounded Newfoundlanders.

Early in 1917 Sir Edward Morris was called to England to attend the Imperial War Conference and War Cabinet, which were held in March and April of that year, and while he was in London it was arranged that a call should be made for Newfoundland lumbermen to serve on forestry work in the United Kingdom during the war at the sole charge of the Home Government. The meeting of the Legislature had been postponed for his return, and the session did not open until the end of May. The Governor's speech referred to the great increase in the value of the trade of the colony, which had risen from $25 millions to 35, and it anticipated a large surplus on the current account of the year 1916–17. Eventually the figures of the year showed that there had been a record revenue and a record surplus, a revenue amounting to $5,206,000, and a surplus of over $651,000 to be applied to reduction of the war

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debt. Trade had gone up by leaps and bounds. Never had the fishermen realized such high prices for their catch. The value of iron ore had again risen in consequence of the Canadian demand. In his Budget for 1917–18 Mr. Cashin estimated for a revenue of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, including $250,000 as the outcome of a Business Profits Tax which he intended to impose, and for an expenditure of about $4\frac{3}{4}$ millions, with the result of a prospective surplus on the current account of the year of no less than $750,000 again to be applied to reduction of war expenditure. Never had Newfoundland been within measurable distance of so much money, but it was all wanted, and in this 1917 session a Loan Act was passed, which authorized further borrowing for the purposes of the war up to $3 millions. The funded public debt was returned at the same figure in all the three financial years 1915–16, 1916–17, and 1917–18, viz. $34\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

In Newfoundland, as in Canada and in the Empire generally, the year 1917 was a very critical year in the legislature and outside. The stress of war was now felt in fullest measure: the public had more than ever to lean upon the Government; the Government had to shoulder additional responsibilities, and to look around for additional support in bearing its ever-increasing burden. The time had come when the free peoples of the Empire were put to the supreme test of endurance, and when it was realized that they could only outlast the crisis by sinking internal differences, lining up behind the Government of the day, looking to the Government for initiative, and in turn giving it unquestioning support. On the 17th of July, before Mr. Cashin brought in his Budget, Sir Edward Morris announced in the House of Assembly that a National Ministry had been formed. Dr. Lloyd, the leader of the Opposition, with other members of the Opposition side, joined the Government and, as reconstructed, it represented both parties in the House and in the country. The coalition averted the necessity for a General Election, which, in the ordinary course, was due in October, and a Legislature (Extension) Act prolonged the life of the existing Parliament to a date to be fixed by the Governor in Council in 1918. Various other important Acts were passed in this session. Among them was a War Pensions Act, framed on the lines adopted in Canada, a Board of three Pension Commissioners being appointed, who took the place

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of the Pensions and Disabilities Board of the Patriotic Association. The Association itself, after having done noble work for the colony and its sailors and soldiers, was now superseded by a Ministry of Militia. The Act which constituted the Ministry, however, contained provisions for an Advisory Military Board and for other Advisory Committees, on which the services of the men, who had proved so capable in administering the business of the Association, which was the business of the Government under another name, might still be utilized. In all directions Government control was extended. A Food Control Act was passed and a Food Control Board appointed; while a Liquor Control Board was called into existence by an Act which amended the Prohibition Act of the previous session.

As though to give the lie to the principle and practice of internal unity in the face of imminent danger, before the session ended there came a political deadlock and a constitutional crisis. It arose over the Business Profits Tax Bill, which provided that Government should take 20 per cent. of such profits in excess of the sum of $3,000. The Bill was passed by the House of Assembly and sent up to the Legislative Council. There it met with strong opposition, the second reading was only carried by the casting vote of the President, and in Committee the Bill was thrown out. It was a money Bill and therefore peculiarly within the province of the elected House. Accordingly, the Government took prompt and drastic action. The legislature was formally prorogued on the 8th of August and called together again for a special session on the 16th. A majority in the Council for the Government policy had in the meantime been assured by the appointment of four new members to vacant seats. The House of Assembly again passed the Business Profits Tax Bill, and one other Bill, a Legislature Bill, which asserted in the plainest terms the ascendancy of the popular House, not in the matter of financial Bills alone, and made adequate provision against the recurrence of any similar deadlock in future. The Bills were sent up to the Council and were duly passed, and the special session came to an end on the 21st of August.

The close of the session was followed by a change both of Governor and of Prime Minister. Sir Edward Morris left for England in the autumn, not to return to public life in the colony, and Dr. Lloyd took his place still leading a National

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Ministry. He, too, went to England in 1918 to attend the Imperial War Conference of that year ; but, as the Conference did not meet till June, it was possible, before he left, to hold the annual session of the Legislature. It met on St. George's Day, the 23rd of April, 1918, and sat till the 16th of May. The new Governor delivered his first opening speech : the new Prime Minister led the House of Assembly : a new Speaker had been elected by the House. Sir Alexander Harris congratulated the colony upon the fact that the King had marked his sense of the services of the Newfoundland Regiment by designating it the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and his speech noted the continued great increase in the value of the trade of the colony, the flowing revenue, the successful fisheries. On the other hand, reference was made to one of many sad tales of the sea which can be told by the coasts and waters of Newfoundland. On the 29th of February the steamship *Florizel* had been lost, and only 44 out of a total of 137 on board had been rescued.

In the legislative programme of the Government two items were of paramount importance. They were a Bill to authorize selective conscription and another further to extend the life of Parliament. The two Bills went hand in hand, for, if the Conscription Bill was passed, it was obviously desirable that the Government which was responsible for it should live to carry it into effect. On the 24th of April the Prime Minister introduced both Bills. The time spoke eloquently for compulsory military service. Just a month had passed since the beginning of the great German offensive, with its initial sweeping success, and the call for fighting men was instant and imperative. 'We need more and more men. We need more and more money,' said Dr. Lloyd in public, and in secret session, on the 25th, he explained to both Houses the gravity of the crisis. Both Bills went through with little alteration, and both became law on the 11th of May, the life of the existing Parliament being prolonged to the 30th of April 1919. The Military Service Act was a revised edition of the Canadian Act, more guarded in the matter of exemptions, the Minister of Militia being very emphatic upon the wholesale facilities for evasion which the Canadian Act had offered. It provided for selective draft of unmarried male British subjects resident in Newfoundland between the ages

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of 19 and 40 : they were to be divided into classes ; and the first class to be called up comprised young men between the ages of 19 and 25. The grounds on which exemption might be claimed were set out in the law : the Judges of the Supreme Court were constituted an exemption tribunal, and provision was made for a Military Service Board to carry out the details of the Act. Among a number of other laws which were passed in this session was a Military Forces Act, which, in effect, brought up to date the provisions contained in previous Acts relative to the administration of the armed forces of the colony ; and there were several financial Acts, called forth by the Budget for 1918–19.

This, his tenth consecutive budget, was brought in by Mr. Cashin on the 11th of May, the day on which the Military Service Act was placed upon the Statute Book. Against his original estimate of revenue for the current year, 1917–18, of $5½ millions, he now expected to receive $5,702,000, Customs and Excess Profits Tax accounting for $5 millions of the total. On the other hand, the expenditure of the year was largely exceeding the estimate, and the minister now only contemplated a surplus of $250,000 in lieu of $750,000. When the accounts of the year were finally made up, the surplus was only $171,000. The annual value of the trade of the colony was now nearly $50 millions, and the increase of bank deposits testified to the growing wealth of the people. They could evidently bear further taxation, such as the exigencies of the war demanded, and more taxes were imposed. Postage rates were increased, telegrams were taxed, there were increased tobacco duties, and export duties on fish. From these sources an additional yield of $500,000 was expected. But the main novelty of the Budget was an income tax, in regard to which Canada had led the way. The Newfoundland Act exempted the income of the unmarried up to $1,000, of the married up to $2,000. Above these limits a 5 per cent. income tax was levied, and incomes over $6,000 paid in addition a super-tax rising from 3 to 25 per cent. The net result of this last war Budget was an estimated revenue of $6½ millions, an estimated expenditure of $5,400,000, and an estimated surplus of $1,100,000. The actual figures proved eventually to be a revenue of $9,539,000, an expenditure of $6,766,000, and a surplus of $2,773,000. A Loan Act of 1918 empowered borrowing

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up to $6 millions at 6½ per cent., but this sum included the $3 millions which had been authorized in 1917.

In the matter of finance, Newfoundland, as compared with most other countries, beyond question came off lightly in the war. In the six years from the 1st of July 1914 to 30th of June 1920 the Public Debt was increased by $11½ millions, nearly $2 millions a year, and, though this borrowing was not wholly for war purposes, the expenditure on the war up to the same date seems to have stood at practically the same figure as the increase to the debt. If to $11½ millions is added the cost of civil re-establishment, of pensions and other contingent war expenses for, say, some three years after the Armistice, the main cost of the war to Newfoundland may be put down very roughly at rather over $15 millions, a sum easily within the compass of the colony, in view of its growing population and the marked development of its resources.

The fighting effort of Newfoundland was on both sea and land. It falls under the two heads of the Royal Naval Reservists and the Newfoundland Regiment.[1]

When the war began a Royal Naval Reserve Force, a branch of the Imperial Service, had been in existence in the colony for about fifteen years, having been formed in 1899, as a result of the Colonial Conference of 1897. The maximum had been fixed at 600 men, and at the time of the war the effectives numbered 565. The Service had become very popular among the Newfoundland fishermen, for the training was done in the winter months when the ice on the coast is a hindrance to fishing, and cruises were taken in southern waters which gave to Newfoundlanders an opportunity of seeing the world. A naval drill-ship, the *Calypso*, afterwards re-named the *Briton*, had for some years before the war been stationed at St. John's for training purposes. In August 1914, when war was declared, the fishing season was at its height, and the men on the roll of the Naval Reserve were dispersed in all directions as far north as Hudson Strait. Yet, when the summons came, they hurried to meet it as fast as they heard the news and could return. It was stated on the authority of the Commanding Officer of the *Briton* that by the end of the month only two

[1] Pp. 309–18 inclusive have been in the main condensed from an account written for *The Empire at War* by the Hon. Sir P. T. McGrath, K.B.E., LL.D., late President of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland.

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had not reported, one of whom was dead and the other mentally deranged. The Newfoundlanders served during the war on all classes of warships, from Dreadnoughts to drifters, from seaplanes to submarines. Some served at the Dardanelles, there were Newfoundlanders on the *Alcantara* when she sank the *Greif*, in Admiral Sturdee's squadron in the Falkland Islands fight, in Beatty's squadron when the *Blücher* was sunk, in the great Jutland battle. But their special *métier* was patrol work. Keen sighted on the look-out, skilled in handling small boats, familiar from infancy with the roughest seas, they were peculiarly adapted for and were preferably employed in patrol duty. The following testimony to their services was given by Commander McDermott of the *Briton* in a public address at St. John's on the celebration of the Armistice:

'There were three outstanding features of naval work in which the Newfoundland seamen had made themselves conspicuous. These were the blockade of Germany, the convoying of ships across the Atlantic, and the mine-sweeping operations; and in all of these the Newfoundlanders had proved themselves of the very greatest value. Perhaps the most important part of the blockade work consisted in patrolling that section of ocean which lies between Ireland and the Orkney and Shetland Islands and Norway; and a dark stormy ocean it is, especially in the autumn and winter months. This work had been entrusted to the Tenth Cruiser Squadron and every ship in that squadron had been assigned a boat's crew of Newfoundlanders for the purpose of boarding and examining ships at sea. The captains of these ships who had visited here from time to time during the war had told him that the work could never have been successfully carried out but for these Newfoundlanders. They were absolutely invaluable as sea-boats' crews. Their training along their own coast in the handling of small boats and such-like and their utter contempt for the dangers of the sea made them more efficient for this class of work than any other seamen that could have been secured.

It was the same with regard to the convoy work. In many of the ships engaged in this branch of the service the Newfoundlanders were stationed and they proved themselves equally valuable and equally reliable. All the officers with whom they served held a high opinion of them and their only regret was that they could not obtain larger detachments of the men for their ships. Many Newfoundlanders formed the guns' crews in defensively armed merchant ships and were successful in sinking submarines.

It was the same way with mine-sweeping, the Newfoundlander

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found himself quite at home. Very few people on this side of the Atlantic had any idea of the magnitude of this work or the dangers it involved. Mine-sweeping and mine-laying were the biggest things in the naval side of the war. They called for seamanship, hardiness and willingness to turn to at any hour of the day or night and work all night if necessary without grumbling. He did not mean to imply that the Newfoundlanders would be as efficient in larger ships as the regularly trained bluejackets—lack of education was a serious drawback and handicap, very many would have been petty officers but for this—but he mentioned that coming from a coast like ours they had proved themselves immensely superior in the class of work at which they were employed. An evidence of this was found in the fact that recently when it was decided to commence mine-sweeping operations off the coast of Newfoundland, due to the belief that German submarines had released mines on this coast, the officer who was assigned the duty of organizing the service agreed to undertake it on condition that he was given the assistance of one Sam Warren, a petty officer, naval reservist from Bonavista Bay. Forthwith all the cable and wireless systems were set in motion to discover the whereabouts of Sam Warren, who was eventually discovered aboard the *Niobe* at Halifax, and when the officer found he could have Sam Warren he came out to undertake the work and organized a most efficient service in next to no time.'

The total number of Naval Reservists supplied by Newfoundland during the war was 1,964, of whom 179 were lost in action and 125 invalided out of the Service. Well did the colony maintain its traditional reputation of being a nursery of sailors.

The Newfoundland Regiment was composed almost without exception of native-born Newfoundlanders. The first 500 were enrolled within a fortnight, and then began the problem of training, equipping, and transporting them to the scene of war. It was a serious problem. Newfoundland entered the war as complete an example of unpreparedness and pacifism as could be found in the world. There was no military organization, no militia, no military machinery of any kind, and no trained experts on the spot to create it. Law and order were maintained by a force of 100 police, half of whom were stationed at St. John's, where they did duty as firemen as well as police, while the rest were distributed in ones and twos along a coastline of 6,000 miles. There were no effective military weapons in the island, and rifles for drilling purposes were borrowed

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from the armoury of the Church Lads' Brigade and other cadet corps connected with the various schools and colleges at St. John's. Everything had to be taken in hand by the Newfoundland Patriotic Association, which was in effect a Committee of Public Safety, and whose sub-committees were organized for recruiting, equipping, training, provisioning, and financing the contingent, and eventually for its transport. Help was given in the rudimentary work by the permanent staff of the naval drill-ship and by the officers of the cadet corps, the latter becoming officers of the contingent, and by the time that the first Canadian Expeditionary Force was ready for embarkation the Newfoundlanders had so far taken on the guise of a military body as to be able to join them. They were shipped on board the sealing steamer *Florizel* at St. John's, entered the Canadian convoy at Cape Race, were carried to Plymouth with the Canadians, and went on with them in October to be trained on Salisbury Plain. Subsequently, being an odd unit and not a complete battalion, they were sent up to Inverness to be trained apart and later were moved to Edinburgh Castle, which they garrisoned during the winter of 1914–15, being, it was said, the first non-Scottish force to be quartered in the Castle.

It has been seen that, encouraged by success in raising the first 500 soldiers, Newfoundland determined to raise a second contingent of the same number in order that the colony should be represented in the field by a full battalion of at least 1,000 men; and that, the second 500 having been secured, an endeavour was made to raise a further 1,000. This number was also before long in process of embodiment and training, after which recruiting was kept up continuously until by the end of 1917 over 4,000 men had been enlisted and all but 100 sent across the sea.[1] After its sojourn at Edinburgh, the regiment was moved to Aldershot to complete its training, and in August 1915, now a full battalion, it was embarked

[1] The names of the Commanding Officers of the regiment after its arrival in England were:

15 November 1914. Lieut.-Col. R. de H. Burton, attached as Commanding Officer.
6 December 1915. Lieut.-Col. A. L. Hadow, C.M.G., attached as Commanding Officer.
1 January 1918. Temp. Lieut.-Col. Woodruff, D.S.O., attached as Commanding Officer.
2 July 1918. Lieut.-Col. Mathias, D.S.O., Belgian Croix de Guerre, in command.
15 March 1919. Lieut.-Col. A. E. Bernard, M.C., Croix de Guerre, in command.

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Officers and men of the 1st Battalion Royal Newfoundland Regiment, all of whom received decorations and who alone held the village of Monchy le Preux (14 April 1917) against a heavy German counter attack

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for the Mediterranean. Khartoum was understood to be its destination, but on arrival at Alexandria reinforcements for Gallipoli were in demand, and the Newfoundlanders were sent on to the Dardanelles, being the only North American unit to serve in this sphere of the war. In September they were landed at Suvla Bay. By this date the Suvla offensive was over, and the situation had become one of deadlock, most trying to the morale of the troops and, by its very monotony, a good test of discipline. If Gallipoli did little else for the battalion, it was at least a useful training ground, and bore fruit in the soldierly character which made the Newfoundlanders worthy of the high reputation of the division in which they were incorporated. This was the famous Twenty-ninth Division. In that division they were attached to the 88th Brigade, under the command of Brig.-Gen. Cayley. They were at first in reserve, officers and companies being sent up in turn to the trenches to be initiated in trench warfare, but very soon they were able to take over part of the firing line as a separate unit. They served till the evacuation of the Peninsula at the end of the year, and though during their stay there were no operations on a large scale, General Cayley wrote in high terms of their courage, readiness, and resource, and of their cheerful endurance during terrible weather in the last days of November, days of violent rain, northerly blizzard, and intense frost. Their first test on the offensive came on 4th November, when they were employed to attack and capture a Turkish outpost position, which task was successfully accomplished by a party of the regiment at night time. It was one of the few minor enterprises carried out at this stage of the Gallipoli campaign, and the achievement was recognized by giving the name Caribou Hill to the captured position, a caribou head being the regimental crest. Their home experience in seafaring tasks, coupled with steadiness and discipline, made them specially useful in connexion with the re-embarkation of the troops ; they were told off as a kind of liaison force to assist the bluejackets, and, proving their worth, were brought back from a week's rest at Mudros to help in the final evacuation of the Cape Helles area.

Refitted and reorganized in Egypt, the battalion, with the other units of the Twenty-ninth Division, was moved to France in the spring of 1916, and went into the fighting line

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in time for the opening of the Battles of the Somme, 1916. So far the Newfoundlanders had seen comparatively little ordered fighting; they now had their first experience of a battle-field on a great scale, and a terrible experience it was. The threefold object of the Battles of the Somme, as stated in the Commander-in-Chief's dispatch, was to relieve the pressure on Verdun, to prevent the further transfer of German troops to the eastern front, and to wear down the strength of the opposing forces. It was the beginning of continuous pressure on the enemy along a wide front. The main British attack was between the Somme and the Ancre, on the right and in the centre of their front, but, in order to support it and to pin the Germans to their ground, the attack was continued on the left, north of the Ancre. Here the German line was strongest, and here, due north of Albert, was one of the strongest points of all, the trenches in front of the village of Beaumont Hamel. On the opening day of the battle, the 1st of July 1916, the Twenty-ninth Division was in this sector of the line, and it fell to the Newfoundlanders to take part in one of the waves of assault. Their staunchness and that of the troops with whom they collaborated at this point contributed to the marked success achieved farther south, but the sacrifice of life was terribly high, and at the immediate spot there was no compensating gain of ground. They went into the fight in the morning 870 strong; at the roll call next day only 83 answered to their names. Sixteen officers were killed, twelve wounded, and the casualties in the rank and file were in like proportion. 'They literally went on', wrote General Cayley, 'till scarcely an officer or man was left unhit. . . . I cannot sufficiently express my admiration for their heroism, nor my sorrow for their overwhelming losses, which admiration and sorrow will be shared by all in Newfoundland.' From Sir Douglas Haig came the following telegram: 'Newfoundland may well feel proud of her sons. The heroism and devotion to duty they displayed on 1st July have never been surpassed. Please convey my deep sympathy and that of the whole of our armies in France in the loss of the brave officers and men who have fallen for the Empire, and our admiration of their heroic conduct. Their efforts contributed to our success and their example will live.' It was a tragedy, but a glorious tragedy, to be recorded to all time in the annals of Newfoundland.

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The battalion was called to life again by drafts which had been in training at Ayr in Scotland, and early in October the Twenty-ninth Division was called on for a second turn in the Battles of the Somme. On the 12th of that month the Newfoundlanders were again in action. The scene of the fighting was farther east than before, nearly due south of Bapaume, and the objective was the German trenches immediately north of the lately captured village of Gueudecourt. The attack was one of many minor operations, carried out under grave difficulties, but all contributing to the cumulative pressure on the enemy, which resulted in German evacuation of the Somme battlefield in 1917. This time there was substantial success to be recorded, trophies of which, three captured German machine guns, were sent to Newfoundland. In this attack, to quote General Cayley's words, 'The Newfoundland Regiment carried out their part most brilliantly, with the utmost dash and determination; nothing could have been finer than their behaviour, and they fairly got into the Germans, killing large numbers and capturing many others'. Though far outweighed by the results achieved and the damage inflicted upon the enemy, the losses of the regiment on this occasion were still serious, but once more reinforcements were forthcoming, and through the winter of 1916–17 there was a comparatively quiet time, in which the chief events were the actions of Les Bœufs in January, where C.S.M. Gardner won a bar to his D.C.M. for capturing a party of 68 Germans, and of Sailly Saillisel on the 3rd of March.

In April 1917 the Newfoundland Regiment found itself in the Arras area. North of the Scarpe the Canadians had just taken the Vimy Ridge. The Newfoundlanders came into the fighting line south of the river at Monchy le Preux, some five miles from Arras, a little to the south of east. The high ground on which the village stood had been one of the commanding positions in the enemy's line, and though the village was carried on the 11th of April, the Germans were minded to recover it. Hence, in the words of the Commander-in-Chief's dispatch, 'heavy counter-attacks developed on the 14th of April, the most violent of which were directed against Monchy le Preux. The struggle for this important position was exceedingly fierce.' On the 12th and 13th the divisions which had been most heavily engaged had been relieved, and the Newfoundlanders

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were among the troops that took over Monchy le Preux. On the 14th it would seem that an attempt was made to forestall a coming German counter-attack by attacking from the British side, and the Newfoundland Regiment with the sister battalions advanced on the east of the village. The Newfoundlanders appear to have been caught in a wood, into which it was stated that a strong Bavarian force had been brought by night and where it was lying concealed. There was in consequence another tale of bitter fighting and wholesale sacrifice. Hopelessly outnumbered, the battalion was again practically wiped out. Still the attack, disastrous as it was, served the purpose of holding up a German advance against a thinly held British position, and after the main body of the regiment had succumbed to numbers, a handful of the head-quarters' staff still lined a trench in the enemy's path until at nightfall British supports came up, ' and in the end ', wrote the Commander-in-Chief, ' the enemy was completely repulsed, with great loss '. General Allenby commanded the army in which the regiment fought at Monchy, and he recorded that ' the Newfoundlanders did gallant work in repelling very heavy counter-attacks by the Germans. Their casualties were high, but they showed splendid staunchness and fought like heroes. . . . I have personally recommended the good work of the battalion, and of the Commanding Officer and his head-quarters' staff in particular, as by his promptness and personal bravery he averted what might have been a very serious situation.'

Still with the Twenty-ninth Division, the regiment, once more reconstituted, was moved to the Ypres area, where it did good work in August 1917, while in November it formed part of General Byng's army in the memorable Battle of Cambrai and the subsequent German counter-attack. Taking the German positions at Masnières on the right centre of the British front, the division held its ground in the most critical phase of the counter-attack, beating off nine separate assaults on 1st December before it was ordered to withdraw under cover of night. It was after these operations that the regiment was awarded the prefix ' Royal '. When 1917 ended, the death-roll of the regiment, including missing, was 1,044, out of roughly 4,000 men sent overseas, a proportion of about 25 per cent. The critical days of March 1918 and the call to the whole Empire for reinforcements to stem the tide of German advance

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1ST BATTALION ROYAL NEWFOUNDLAND REGIMENT

marching back to billets after the Battle of Monchy-le-Preux, April 1917

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brought about the Conscription Act in Newfoundland, and in a few weeks' time about 1,000 additional men were recruited. After preliminary training in the island they were sent to England as speedily as possible and were further trained at the head-quarters of the regiment, which were now at Winchester. Few, if any, of them, however, were in time to see actual fighting, though a number were included in the battalion when it marched through to the Rhine in the Army of Occupation. The regiment, meanwhile, had been in April 1918 engaged in the Battle of the Lys and the retreat from Armentières. Then, at length severing their connexion with the Twenty-ninth Division, what remained of the Newfoundlanders went to G.H.Q. at Montreuil as Guard of Honour to the G.O.C. Subsequently, in the following August, the regiment was incorporated in another famous division, the Ninth (Scottish) Division, in which it took the place of the South African Composite Battalion, all that hard fighting had left of the South African Brigade. In this division, 'tough fighters and good comrades', as its historian sums them up,[1] the Newfoundlanders finished their service, sharing the advance into Flanders from Ypres to Ledeghem and on to the Scheldt, and seeing no little fighting before the Armistice. After the Armistice and the march to the Rhine the 28th Brigade of the division, in which was the Newfoundland Regiment, for a few weeks garrisoned Cologne. But in April 1919 the regiment was back at Winchester, an appropriate centre in the Old Country for the men of the oldest British colony, and in the summer of 1919 it was repatriated to Newfoundland. By the end of 1919, with the exception of a few badly wounded men in English hospitals, and a reduced staff at the Pay and Record Office in London, and some needed officials at the head-quarters at St. John's, the regiment had ceased to exist, having achieved a record of admirable fighting service and given a heavy toll of brave lives to the Empire. It may be said to have been four times renewed in the course of the war. In all, 12,523 offered for service; of them half were rejected as medically unfit and 6,339 were accepted, all but 62 being enrolled in Newfoundland. The total number actually sent overseas from the island was 4,984: 1,178 in all served in

[1] *The History of the Ninth (Scottish) Division, 1914–19*, by Major John Ewing, M.C. (John Murray, 1921), p. 333.

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Gallipoli, 4,253 in France and Flanders; 1,232 were returned as dead, 18 as missing and unaccounted for, while the total number of wounds—many officers and men being wounded several times—was 2,314. One hundred and seventy-four were taken prisoners, of whom 29 died in the enemy's hands and 145 were repatriated. The outstanding feature in these figures is the high proportion of deaths. The honours included 1 V.C., 2 C.M.G., 4 D.S.O., 28 M.C. and 6 bars to the M.C., 32 D.C.M. and 1 bar to the D.C.M., 105 M.M. and 8 bars, 1 O.B.E., 1 Royal Victoria Medal, 2 M.S.M., 22 mentions in dispatches, and 21 Allied Medals.

The Victoria Cross was won by Private Thomas Ricketts on the 14th October 1918 during the advance from Ledeghem (Belgium). He brought up ammunition under the heaviest machine-gun fire for a Lewis gun with which his Sectional Commander and he himself were engaging an enemy battery at point-blank range, and 'by his presence of mind in anticipating the enemy intention (to withdraw the guns) and his utter disregard of personal safety' he saved many lives and ensured the capture of the enemy's guns.

Over and above fighting men on sea and land, Newfoundland contributed a forestry battalion in 1917. The island had a good supply of trained woodsmen, and the Patriotic Association set itself to raise five companies of 100 men each, accepting only men who had either been rejected as unfit for military service or were over the military age limit of 35. An appreciable number were soon forthcoming, although the response to the call for volunteers was not as prompt as had been anticipated, the trouble probably being that by this time the strain upon the manhood of the colony was beginning to be felt. By the end of the year nearly 500 had been taken to Scotland and were employed in cutting down a forest on the Duke of Atholl's estate, near Perth. Mr. (now Sir) M. M. Beeton was in charge of the corps and administered it successfully to the end of the war. The total number of those who presented themselves for enlistment was 778, of whom 278 were rejected as medically unfit. Of the remaining 500 effectives, 498 were accepted for service in Newfoundland and two joined in England. The majority had been discharged by the end of the first quarter of 1919.

There are not sufficient data available for a detailed state-

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ment of the Newfoundland contributions to war funds and charities, but some general features may be noted. No large sums of money could be expected from a very scattered, and for the most part poor, population, the majority of whom were fishermen and their families. Their contributions to the cause were rather in personal service or in kind than in coin. The Women's Patriotic Association showed great skill and organizing capacity in the appeals which they made for comforts for the sailors and soldiers and for hospital requisites for the Red Cross. The women in the many small fishing hamlets planted along the inlets of the Newfoundland coast are of necessity obliged to make the family garments and knit the woollen gear. They were therefore as competent as they were ready to give in this sort, to provide knitted goods for their own fighting men or for dispatch through Queen Mary's Needlework Guild to the British Red Cross. Up to the end of 1917 it was estimated that the money and material thus supplied by the women's organizations amounted in value to about half a million of dollars, and the good work went forward unabated till the Armistice. For the Patriotic Fund, specially designed to help the families of the men on active service, about $120,000 were subscribed. The money was used to supplement the weekly allowances made by the soldiers and sailors to their dependants, and the latter were maintained on at least as good a footing in regard to material comforts as when the bread-winners were at home. To Red Cross funds Newfoundland gave some $250,000 to be applied overseas entirely for ambulance and hospital work. After the disastrous 1st July 1916, the date of Beaumont Hamel, a special public appeal was made for a sum sufficient to provide a bed for every Newfoundland soldier in England who was then occupying one at the cost of the Imperial organization, and within a month a sum large enough to endow over 300 cots for a year was realized, while many were endowed for the duration of the war and six months afterwards. This was the St. John Ambulance Cot Fund already mentioned. It proved possible to arrange for some of these to be in France, though the majority were in England, and for some to be in naval as well as military hospitals, so that the naval arm of the Newfoundland Service might be represented. In Newfoundland itself a sanatorium for tuberculosis patients was established with accommodation

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for about thirty, and a convalescent home with much the same number of beds for those who were recovering from wounds or sickness. Contributions were also made to Belgian and French War Relief Associations. Finally, mention should be made of a very successful fund, started in the early days of the war, to supply machine guns for the Newfoundland Regiment. A sum of $54,000 was obtained in a few weeks, but, as the Army Council undertook to supply the machine guns, the money was diverted to the purchase of aeroplanes for the Imperial Air Force, seven being provided from this source.

Newfoundland itself was immune from all danger during the war. With the British Fleet supreme on the seas, German invasion of the island was not to be dreamed of; even a submarine raid was the barest possibility. At its doors was Canada. But for the Naval Reserve and the training ship in St. John's Harbour, the whole island and its people were given over to peace. It was self-governing in the fullest sense, though on a small scale. It rested entirely with the Newfoundlanders to decide how far they would take an active part in the war. But they were all of British stock, all heirs of the longest British tradition beyond the seas, and being a small community they had, while self-governing, of necessity always relied upon the Mother Country. There was, therefore, no question whatever as to their course of action when the trial came. They gave of their best and gave ungrudgingly. The actual numbers sent oversea seem small, but the manhood of the island was very limited, its daily life had to be carried on, the most had to be made of its resources, not for the sake of Newfoundland alone. To the quality of the men who served the Battles of the Somme bore tragic testimony, and the story of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, of the sons of the oldest British colony, incorporated in one of the most hard-fighting divisions of the British Army and sharing in the hardest of the fights, is a very noble illustration of the comradeship of the Empire. It must be borne in mind that there was no leaven in the regiment of old soldiers, of reservists called back to the Colours. Untried men, who had never been in any military atmosphere whatever, went steadily to their deaths. On the sea, on the other hand, Newfoundlanders were in their element and in proportion to population the colony contributed more sailors and of better type than any other Dominion or colony.

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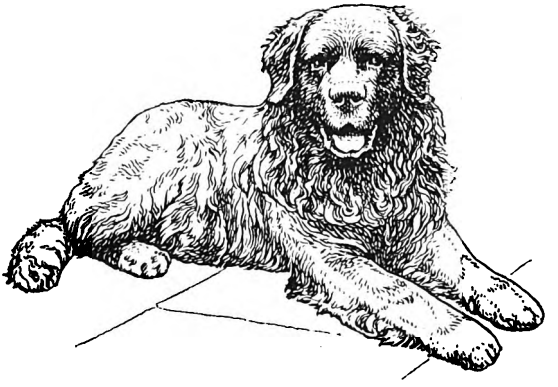
All through the Empire during the war men and women were forthcoming in abundance to serve and work and give without counting cost or seeking gain, but Newfoundland had not, on the one hand, the more highly organized ministries and well-staffed offices of the larger Dominions, nor had it, on the other, the centralized machinery of a non-self-governing colony. The war effort, therefore, in a special degree devolved upon and was carried through by volunteer helpers, by citizens who acted for the Government and administered its funds. In regard to war legislation and in other directions, precedents were to some extent borrowed from Canada, but, in the main, the colony took its own course and shouldered its own burdens. Its war record was one of patriotism and courage. It upheld, and added lustre to, the traditions of the past.



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PART III

THE WEST INDIES

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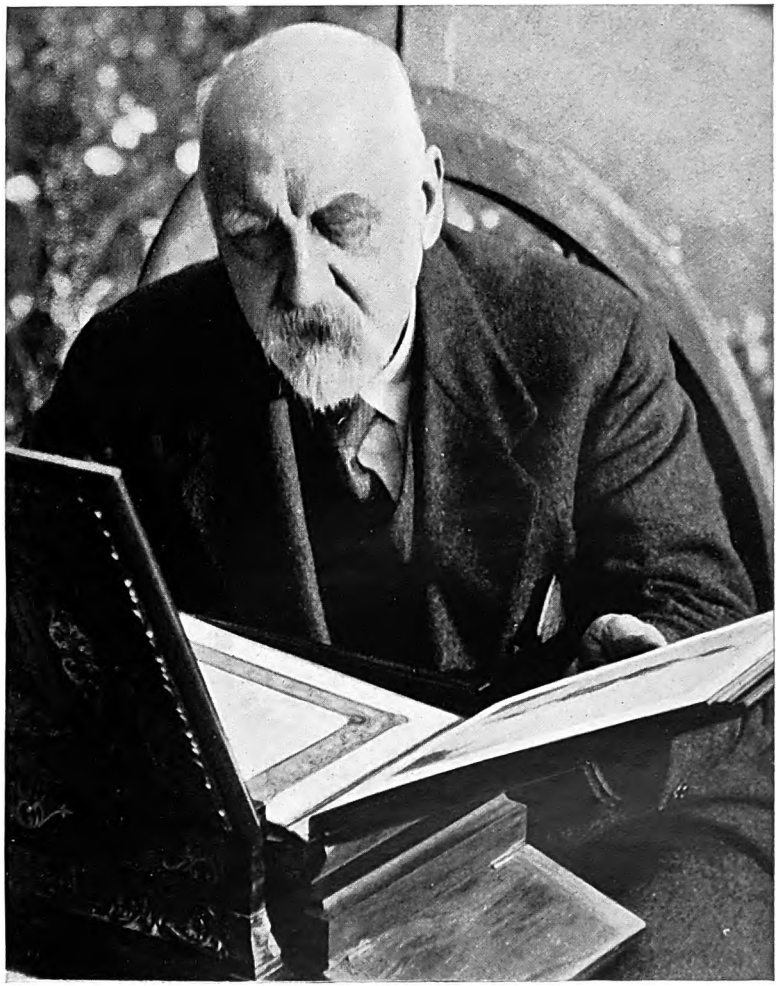

SIR EVERARD IM THURN

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SECTION I

THE WAR EFFORT OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

THE West Indies have been aptly called the cradle of the British Navy. They were the scene of exploits by the Elizabethan seafarers Hawkins, Drake, and Raleigh, of the operations of gallant Benbow, who now sleeps in the parish church at Kingston, Jamaica, and of great deeds by Rodney, Hood, and St. Vincent. The Caribbean Sea was one of the principal battle grounds of the navies of England and France, and off Dominica Rodney restored the prestige of his country, which had suffered severely from the surrender of Cornwallis at York Town, by his decisive victory in the Battle of the Saints on 12th April 1782.

The West Indies form a chain of islands stretching in a curve from the east coast of Florida to the north-west coast of South America. They lie astride the trade routes to the Panama Canal, the opening of which in 1916 gave them a new political significance, and they hold in their embrace the Caribbean Sea. The British Colonies in the group comprise Jamaica, with its dependencies the Turks and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands; the Bahamas; Barbados; Trinidad and Tobago; Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Grenadines, which are united for certain purposes under a single governor as the Windward Islands; and the Leeward Islands, a federal colony including five presidencies, viz. Antigua; St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla; Montserrat; Dominica; and the Virgin Islands. The total area of the British West Indian Islands is 12,228 square miles, about the size of the Netherlands. British Guiana on the north coast of South America, with a total area of 89,480 square miles and a population of 296,041, and British Honduras on the east coast of Central America, with 8,598 square miles and a population of 40,458, are for official purposes often included in the British West Indies, owing to the many interests which these

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mainland colonies have in common with the islands. For many years after the discovery of the New World, the name 'West Indies' was applied to the countries on the mainland as well as to the islands.

In the great war the British West Indies did not figure so prominently as they did in the struggles of the eighteenth century. They witnessed no naval battle, not even one of those single ship-actions which characterized their earlier wars, so securely were they guarded by the Royal Navy. Nevertheless, for a comparatively small group of colonies they played a useful part. Not only did they provide men and money, but also many essential munitions of war—using that term in its widest sense. They sent the rum which helped British sailors and soldiers to withstand the rigours of the winter in the North Sea and in the trenches of France and Flanders, and also sugar, cocoa, and lime-juice, a sure preventive of scurvy. British Honduras supplied mahogany for the manufacture of propellers of aeroplanes and airships; the smaller islands sent over the finest Sea Island cotton, largely used in the construction of 'wings' of aeroplanes and in the fabric of balloons; Trinidad provided fuel oil for the Navy.

Just before the outbreak of war the financial situation in the British West Indies was giving rise to anxiety owing to the low prices of their agricultural products, notably sugar and cocoa. As a result of the development of the Sea Island cotton industry none of the colonies were any longer dependent upon Imperial grants-in-aid; but, notwithstanding, the outlook was gloomy. Sugar had commanded a better range of values after the abolition of the foreign sugar bounties and the suppression of cartels in 1903 by the international agreement embodied in the Brussels Convention of the preceding year, and also as a consequence of severe droughts which had reduced the production of beet-sugar in Europe in 1904 and 1911. By 1914, however, production was so largely in excess of consumption that the price of sugar had fallen from an average of 19*s.* per cwt. in 1912 to 12*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. Though the European beet crop appeared for the moment to have reached the limit of expansion, the world's production of cane-sugar was rapidly increasing. In Cuba, now the British West Indies' most formidable competitor, the crop, fostered by the grant of preferential treatment to Cuban sugar in the United

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States, had risen from 1,040,228 tons in 1903–4 to 2,597,732 tons in 1913–14. The result of low prices was that West Indian sugar estates were once more becoming heavily encumbered, and their value had greatly decreased. Sugar being the industry which distributes the largest sums of money in wages, the purchasing power of the people had been greatly reduced, and depression had become widespread. The stores were accumulating unsaleable stocks and the banks anticipated having to carry over loans. The price of cocoa had also fallen from 72*s.* per cwt. in 1913 to 58*s.*, and though the West Indian variety is superior to the West African, the rapid development of cocoa on the Gold Coast had become a menace. The demand for nearly every other kind of tropical produce had similarly declined and the position was becoming serious.

The war brought a complete transformation. The values of agricultural produce of every kind rose almost immediately. The price of sugar advanced from 12*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. in 1914 to 28*s.* in 1915, to 43*s.* in the following year, and by the end of the war sugar was fetching as much as 60*s.* per cwt. The price of cocoa rose rapidly from 58*s.* per cwt. standing at the end of the first year of the war at 82*s.* and reaching 90*s.* per cwt. before the Armistice. Superfine Sea Island cotton stood at 21*d.* per lb. in 1914, but from 1917 until 1919 the Imperial Government purchased the entire West Indian crop on the basis of 40*d.* to 45*d.* per lb. The demand for lime-juice and lime products also resulted in higher prices, though the lime industry suffered severely when the United States, on entering the war, put an embargo on the importation of fresh limes. The banana industry of Jamaica was almost alone in failing to benefit from the revival; but this was due to a succession of hurricanes in 1915, 1916, and 1917, which played havoc with the banana plantations.

Another industry which benefited from the war was the oil of Trinidad. Though difficulty was experienced in obtaining drilling materials, the production of petroleum from the local wells rose from 22,523,660 imperial gallons in 1913 to 72,872,393 imperial gallons in 1918. Large contracts were entered into for the delivery of fuel oil to the Admiralty and interest in the industry generally was stimulated. The export of asphalt from the pitch lake at La Brea, on the other hand, fell off, owing to lack of shipping facilities and the loss of the European

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market. The revenue of Trinidad suffered in consequence from reduction in the amount of royalties received.

The unwonted prosperity of the proprietors' sugar—and to a lesser degree cocoa—estates, was reflected by that of the importers and traders; though in most colonies active measures were taken to prevent profiteering. Mortgages on estates were liquidated, bank loans against crops were met promptly on the marketing of crops, estates fetched record prices. Plantations in Barbados, which had changed hands at £30 per acre in 1914, were eagerly purchased at £200 per acre. Except in a few colonies there was no income-tax, much less excess profits duty, and quite a number of proprietors amassed considerable fortunes. This prosperity was not, however, shared to any great extent by the labouring classes. Wages rose, but the rise was by no means commensurate with the increase in cost of living engendered by increased prices of imported articles.

The war demonstrated forcibly the dependence of the West Indies on imported food. After the opening of the campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917, the demands on tonnage for war purposes threatened their supplies of foodstuffs. Food Commissioners and Controllers were appointed, active measures were taken by the Agricultural Departments to encourage the production of ground provisions, with some measure of success, and eventually the American Commission rationed the West Indian Colonies in respect of flour and corn and guaranteed regular supplies of these necessaries.

In 1915 the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company terminated the contract for the transatlantic West Indian steamer service on the technical ground that they were precluded by the Government from using Southampton, the port of departure. The intercolonial service was also brought to an end by mutual consent. Thereafter the West Indies were almost entirely dependent for communication with the mother country on a contract service with Canada and on the cargo steamers of Scrutton's Direct Line. At times shortage of tonnage and Government trade restrictions were felt acutely, but in both respects traders in the West Indies were more fortunate than their brethren in the old country, many of whom saw their export business cut off altogether.

Communication with the mother country having become infrequent and irregular, the West Indies were compelled to

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look more and more to Canada and the United States as markets for their produce, and their source of supply of food-stuffs and manufactured articles. American exporters were not slow to take advantage of this opportunity of establishing themselves in the British West Indies. In 1918 American goods formed 67 per cent. of the total imports of Jamaica and nearly 40 per cent. of the imports of Trinidad, British Guiana, and Barbados.

When the last remnants of the garrisons of white troops were withdrawn from the West Indies in 1905, steps were taken to develop the various local defence forces and volunteers. At the outbreak of war these bodies were called up, and though they had no opportunity of going into action, they were fully prepared to cope with any local emergency and to oppose any attempt of the enemy to land. Voluntarily they patrolled the coasts and kept a look-out for raiders.

Early in 1915 a detachment of the Royal Canadian Garrison Artillery arrived in St. Lucia, where they were stationed until the Armistice. French soldiers from Martinique also reached the island and mounted and manned heavy guns from Martinique at the entrance to Castries Harbour. Later in the war, when submarine warfare was rife, heavy guns were mounted in various islands, including Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, and Dominica, on Nelson Island in the Gulf of Paria, and at Nassau (Bahamas), and were manned by detachments of the Royal Marine Light Infantry and Royal Marine Artillery with the assistance of the local defence forces, under the command of Colonel John R. H. Homfray.

As a further precaution against submarine attacks a fleet of motor launches known as the 'M.L.'s' was sent out to patrol the waters surrounding the islands. History (in a sense) repeated itself, for in 1794, when Admiral Sir John Jervis (afterwards Lord St. Vincent) and Lieut.-General Sir Charles Grey attacked Martinique, they were assisted by a flotilla of six small gun-boats brought out to the West Indies in store ships in sections and reassembled in the careenage in Barbados. Each of these little vessels mounted a 24-pounder and was fitted with movable breast-works made of several folds of bulls' hide nailed to one-inch planks.

On 10th January 1917, one hundred and twenty-three years later, four motor launches arrived off Port of Spain on ship-board like their forerunners, the colliers which brought them

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also carrying their officers and crews, and they were followed a few weeks later by eight more. The motor launches, each of which was armed with a 13-pounder gun and depth charges and carried a hydrophone apparatus, were standardized. They were 80 feet long by 12 feet 2 inches in the beam and 6 feet 4 inches in depth with a maximum draught of 3 feet 10 inches giving a displacement of about 40 tons. Accommodation was provided for two officers and eight men. The maximum speed was 22 knots. The oil supplies for this flotilla came from the Trinidad Central Oilfields.

These 12 M.L.'s formed the Motor Launch Flotilla of the West Indies which was at first under the command of Commander Ronald E. Chilcott, R.N., and the head-quarters of the harbour police at Port of Spain became officially the 'Navy Station'. Shortly afterwards H.M. Auxiliary Patrol Vessel *Eileen*—formerly Mr. Solly B. Joel's yacht *Doris*—reached the West Indies under the command of Commodore C. H. Simpson, R.N.R. (a retired Rear-Admiral, R.N.), who had been instructed to form a patrol unit of local steam vessels. For this purpose the *Puruni*, *Parika*, *Arawana*, *Essequebo*, *Towey*, *Lady Hay*, *St. Patrick*, *Ponemah*, and *Belize* were pressed into the service. These small steamers were suitably armed and fitted with wireless telegraphy and carried out regular patrol duties among the islands until the war ended. Their companies comprised R.N.R. officers and locally enlisted firemen and deck hands, the West Indians proving themselves to be admirable seamen. This little flotilla was never in action, the only casualty being the *Puruni*, which struck a rock and was wrecked, though her guns and gear were salved by the *Essequebo*.

The M.L.'s used in the West Indies were twelve out of 600 vessels which were built in America and Canada to the order of the British Government for service overseas, and operated with success in the various war areas. Their personnel was made up of specially enlisted R.N.V.R. officers and R.N.R. ratings, the former being mostly yachtsmen who had undergone special courses in navigation, pilotage, and gunnery. Those who served in the West Indies included many Canadians.

In February 1918 Commander Morton Smart, R.N.V.R. (now D.S.O.), who had greatly distinguished himself in the Gulf of Smyrna, succeeded Commander Chilcott in command

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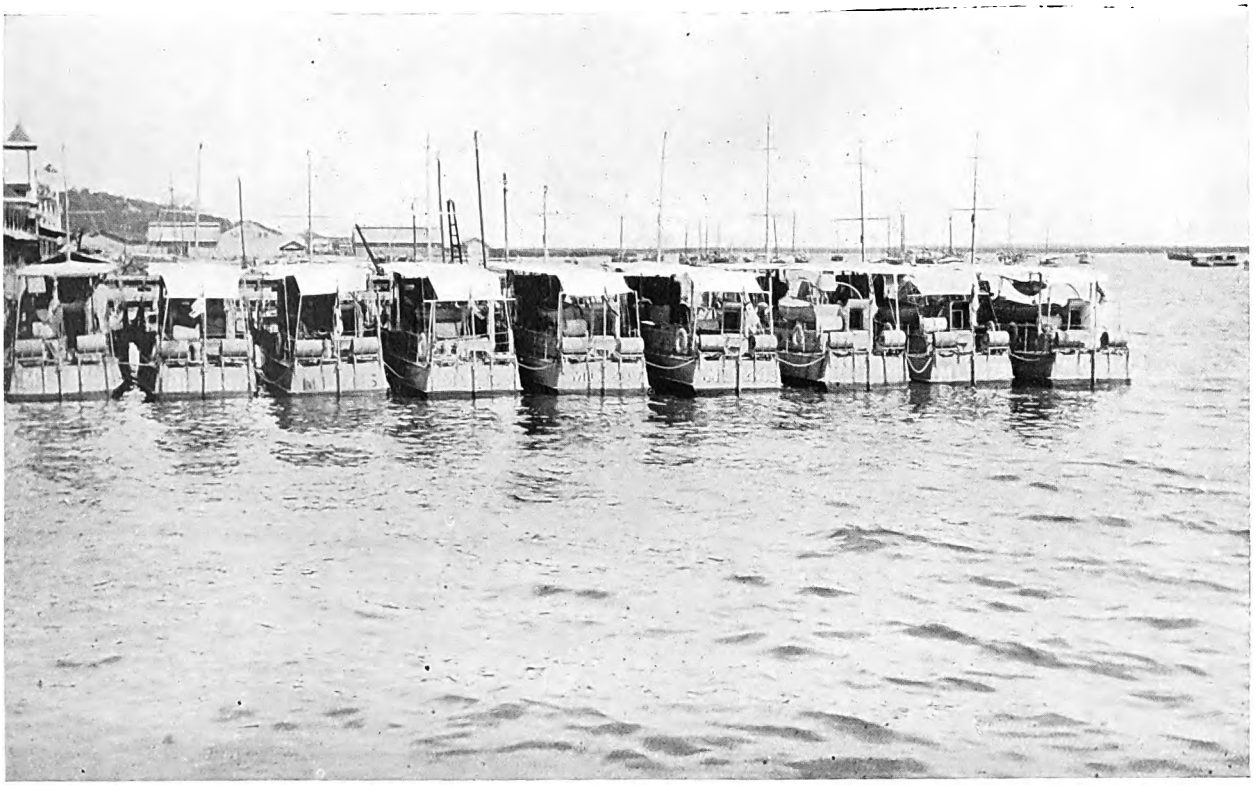

Motor Launches alongside Navy Station, Trinidad, immediately after hostilities had ceased. November 1918

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of the Trinidad Navy Station and West Indian Motor Launch Patrol. The White Ensign continued to fly over the old police quarters. The men when off duty slept there, and the station included offices, quarters, and workshops, the workshops for engineering repairs being under Engineer Lieutenant Mascall, R.N.R. (a volunteer from New Zealand). Classes for signalling, gunnery, and hydrophone operations were held, and, with gunnery exercises at sea and frequent naval manœuvres, brought officers and crews to a high state of efficiency.

The M.L.'s carried out patrol work in the Gulf of Paria by night as well as day and also in various areas in the Lesser Antilles, the sub-bases of St. Lucia and Barbados being under the direct control of the officer in charge at Trinidad. They plied without escort between Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Barbados, in all kinds of weather; and though, like the steamer patrol, they never had a chance of striking a blow at the enemy, their periodical visits to the islands were a source of confidence at a time when there was danger of raids from the harbours of neutral countries.

In the British West Indies the desire to render personal service to King and Empire in the war was general and spontaneous. 'Shall we require more men? Send the summons to the West Indies! The warlike tribes of West Africa agree to the Zouave uniform. Shall the French Army alone contain Turcos?' These words of Mr. Darnell Davis, C.M.G., were published in *The West India Committee Circular* of 8th September 1914. No such summons was needed, for offers to send contingents were already on their way to England. Bitter was the disappointment throughout the West Indies when the answer came that West Indians could, at that juncture, be better employed in defending their own islands, which were in danger of attack by the *Dresden* and *Karlsruhe*, then known to be in the neighbourhood.

It was next suggested that the West India Regiment might be utilized on the Continent. This historic regiment dates back to the American War of Independence. When a British expedition from New York reached Georgia, black and white loyalists flocked to the British camp and were formed into military units of which the South Carolina corps was one. This corps took an active part in the fighting, and in 1780 was converted into a cavalry regiment which at the close of the

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war was stationed in Jamaica under the command of Lord Charles Montagu.

The regiment at this date consisted of both black and white soldiers, and on the general disbandment of provincial corps in 1783, the white members were compensated with grants of land, while the black were formed into a foot regiment in combination with black mechanics under the name of the 'Black Carolina Corps'. When war broke out with France in 1793, various black corps were formed in the West Indies, all of which took an active part in the fighting in the islands. With one of these corps, the Royal Rangers, the South Carolina Regiment was amalgamated in 1795 under the title of 'Whyte's Regiment of Foot'. In the West Indies, however, the regiments were called the West India Regiments, 'Whyte's Regiment of Foot' receiving the title of 'The First West India Regiment'. The West India Regiment has a worthy record in the West Indies and in Africa. It served in the Ashanti Wars, being especially complimented by Sir Garnet Wolseley on its behaviour in the war of 1873–4, and, in the various expeditions in West Africa, in which it has taken part, its members have invariably maintained the high reputation of the regiment. It distinguished itself particularly in the defence of Dominica in 1805 against a French fleet, and also at the capture of Martinique and Guadeloupe. The present Zouave uniform of the corps was adopted in 1858 at the suggestion of Queen Victoria, who greatly admired the uniform of the French Zouaves.

In the late war the suggestion that the West India Regiment, which is mainly recruited in the British West Indies, should be sent to a European theatre of war did not commend itself to the authorities, but it served with credit in West and East Africa. In August 1914 the 1st West India Regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel E. L. Cowie, was stationed in Sierra Leone, and when the campaign in the Cameroons started, its machine gunners and signallers were attached to the expeditionary force, earning the praise of Sir Charles Dobell. One signaller in this regiment, Private Jordan, received the Distinguished Conduct Medal for conspicuous gallantry when going up the Duala River in a launch. Fire being suddenly opened by the Germans on the bank, he attacked them in the flank on his own initiative and drove them off.

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In 1915 the battalion was transferred to Jamaica, where it remained until the end of the war. The 2nd West India Regiment then left for Sierra Leone. Early in 1916 it was transferred to East Africa, where excellent work was done. The battalion was commanded successively by Lieut.-Colonel C. W. Long and Lieut.-Colonel J. P. Bliss.

Not until the *Dresden* had been accounted for after the Battle of the Falkland Islands, and the fate of the *Karlsruhe* was reasonably certain, did the question of sending over West Indian contingents enter the region of practical politics.

On 26th October 1914 the *Karlsruhe* had captured by a lucky chance a richly laden passenger liner *Vandyck*, bound from Buenos Aires to New York, which would in ordinary circumstances have called at Bridgetown. She then steamed north, Barbados being her immediate objective, and by sunset on 4th November she was only 300 miles from Bridgetown. 'Captain Köhler was on the fore bridge, and the greater part of the crew were assembled forward to listen to the ship's band, when suddenly a terrible explosion shattered the ship. There were cries of "Torpedoed", but as the flame and smoke cleared it was seen that the whole fore part had been blown off, and with it had gone the Captain, one lieutenant, and 259 petty officers and men. For twenty minutes more the afterpart floated—just long enough for the tenders to take off all the survivors, to the number of 17 officers and 129 petty officers and men—and then all was over.'[1] Her fate was at the time kept secret even in Germany, but the wreckage in West Indian waters told that she had been lost. In three months she had taken or sunk ships and cargo to the value of £1,500,000.

It is not pleasant to contemplate what might have happened to Barbados if the career of the *Karlsruhe* had not been cut short. Though the *Berwick* was scouring the Caribbean Sea at the time, the raider, if she had been able to lie off Bridgetown only for a few hours, might have done incalculable harm had she shelled the port and wrecked some of the principal sugar factories. At this date the island mounted no heavy guns, and, if the captain of the *Karlsruhe* had in addition risked a landing, the Barbadian Defence Forces, though they would no doubt have put up a good fight, could have effected little

[1] See *History of the Great War. Naval Operations*, vol. i, by Sir Julian S. Corbett, London, 1920, p. 373.

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against a highly trained body of sailors equipped with quick-firing guns. With a teeming population of over 1,000 souls to the square mile the island would have been in a very serious plight.

When immediate danger of invasion had been removed the British West Indies' claim to participate actively in the war could no longer be refused. In Jamaica a body entitled the Jamaica War Contingent Committee, of which Mr. William Wilson, O.B.E., was the moving spirit, had been formed to raise voluntary subscriptions for sending a war contingent overseas. The Governor of the colony, Sir William Manning, then took the matter up with the Imperial Government, and to the intense joy of the people it was announced in May 1915 that contingents for active service would be accepted from Barbados, Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad. Recruiting committees were immediately set up and West Indians flocked to the colours. But the movement was not confined to the larger islands and British Guiana. The smaller colonies and British Honduras could not be denied the privilege of serving their King and Empire, and, following upon their urgent representations, recruiting was opened throughout the West Indies.

The first detachment of the West Indian Contingent reached England in the autumn of 1915, and was stationed at Seaford Camp in Sussex, under the command of Colonel A. E. Barchard. On 26th October it was announced in the *London Gazette* that His Majesty the King had been graciously pleased to approve of the formation of a corps from contingents of the inhabitants of the West Indian Islands to be entitled 'The British West Indies Regiment'. The actual text of the Royal Warrant subsequently issued was as follows :

GEORGE R.I.

WHEREAS WE have approved of the formation of a Corps from Contingents of the inhabitants of the West Indian Islands to be entitled 'The British West Indies Regiment',

OUR WILL AND OUR PLEASURE is that the British West Indies Regiment shall be deemed to be a Corps for the purpose of the Army Act.

GIVEN at Our Court at St. James this 3rd day of November, 1915, in the sixth year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
(Signed) KITCHENER.

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Such was the genesis of the regiment—not to be confused with the West India Regiment—which thereafter and until the Armistice was signed served with honour in practically every theatre of war with the exception of Gallipoli.

In all eleven battalions were raised, the total strength of the regiment, according to official records, being as shown by the following table :

	Officers.	*Other Ranks.*
Barbados	20	811
Bahamas	2	439
British Guiana	14	686
British Honduras	5	528
Jamaica	303	9,977
Trinidad and Tobago	40	1,438
Grenada	4	441
St. Lucia	5	354
St. Vincent	—	305
The Leeward Islands	4	225
	397	15,204 [1]

The rank and file of the regiment were composed almost entirely of black and coloured West Indians, and great credit is due to men who crossed nearly four thousand miles of sea to face unknown dangers and a climate to which they were quite unaccustomed. Many, alas, failed to return, the casualties being—killed or died of wounds, 185 ; died of sickness, 1,071 ; wounded, 697.

A brighter side of the picture is to be found in the list of honours and distinctions awarded to the regiment, which was as follows :

Distinguished Service Order	5
Military Cross	9
Military Cross with Bar	1
Membership of the Order of the British Empire	2
Distinguished Conduct Medal	8
Military Medal	37
Military Medal with Bar	1
Meritorious Service Medal	13
Royal Humane Society's Medal	4
Medaille d'Honneur	1
Mentions in Dispatches	49

[1] These figures were supplied by the Record Office of the British West Indies Regiment. It will be noted that they do not in all cases tally with those supplied from the various colonies. The discrepancy is probably due to the fact that not all of those who embarked in the West Indies actually served in the regiment. See also note to p. 350.

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The transports carrying the troops all crossed the Atlantic without mishap, the only disaster being the tragic voyage of the *Verdala*. That troopship, which left Jamaica with the third Jamaica contingent on board in 1916, was diverted to Halifax, N.S. She encountered arctic weather; the men, who had never left the tropics before, were unprovided with warm clothes; many died of frost-bite and pneumonia, and many more were incapacitated. The *Verdala* then proceeded to Bermuda, where the Government and people did all in their power to relieve the sufferings of the unfortunate West Indians. A monument to the memory of those who died was subsequently erected in Bermuda.

The British West Indies Regiment was very representative in its character. Included in the ranks were men of practically every trade and industry and of every walk in life in the West Indies, one contingent for example claiming shipwrights, cabinet-makers, tailors, shoemakers, mechanics, blacksmiths, motor engineers, carpenters, an engine-driver, a painter, a stenographer, and a printer, besides cooks and bakers. The first three battalions arrived in Egypt in January, February, and March of 1916, and were followed soon afterwards by the 4th and 5th Battalions. After preliminary training at Alexandria, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Battalions were moved to the Canal zone to take part in its defence. In the middle of the year the 3rd and 4th Battalions, having volunteered for service in Europe, were ordered to France, where, under Colonel A. E. Barchard and Lieut.-Colonel G. V. Hart, they did remarkably good work in 'humping' shells for the heavy guns. A contingent of 500 officers and men from the first three battalions was sent to East Africa, and a few weeks later the 1st and 2nd Battalions furnished a party of 100 men for Mesopotamia.

It was due to the persistent efforts of Lieut.-Colonel C. Wood Hill, D.S.O., who took over the command of the 1st Battalion from Colonel Barchard, that the regiment was permitted at last to take its place in the firing line, which it did with conspicuous success. From December 1916 the 1st Battalion, under his command, and the 2nd under that of Lieut.-Colonel J. Poe, formed part of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, and finally distinguished themselves greatly in 1918 in the Jordan Valley and the advance on Amman.

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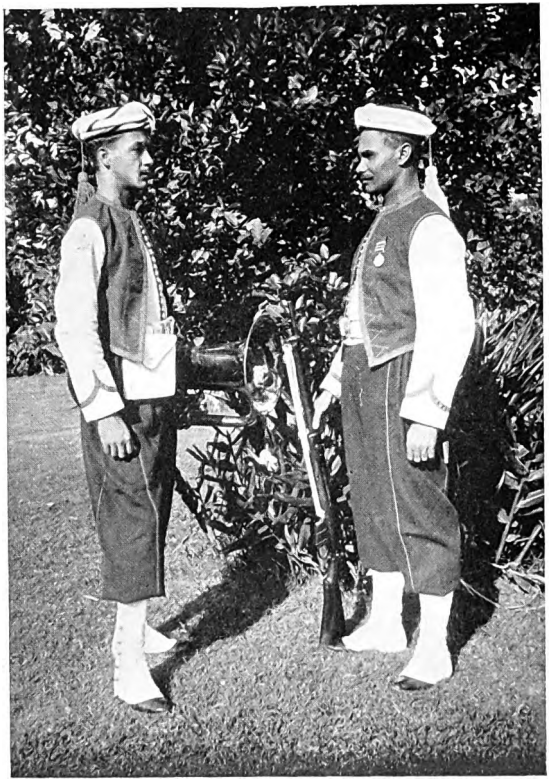

CORPORAL AND MEN OF THE WEST INDIA REGIMENT

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For some six weeks, in August and September 1918, both battalions had been in the line holding trenches on the western side of the Jordan opposite the Turks, who at this point straddled the river. The Jordan Valley, over 800 feet below sea level, is not a health resort, and the conditions of life were exceedingly trying. The heat was intense and malignant malaria was prevalent. The 2nd Battalion was on the left of the line, and the trenches were dominated by high hills in the hands of the Turks, who could consequently see all the movements of the regiment. On the 20th September the 2nd Battalion was ordered to make a demonstration across 'No Man's Land' in front of the Turkish positions at Bakr and Chalk Ridges. The moment the men appeared over the crest they came under heavy artillery fire, but they kept perfect alinement, though they were under shell-fire for over three hours; then night came on and they were withdrawn to their former positions, having achieved the object of diverting the attention of the Turks in this particular sector and drawn their fire.

On the same day the 1st Battalion was ordered to move forward and occupy two Turkish positions on its immediate front. To do so the men had to advance roughly for 1,600 yards under very heavy shell-fire, which was maintained throughout the whole of the day and part of the night. They advanced in artillery formation, and although shells were dropping all around they were as cool as if they were on parade. The following telegram, dated the same day, was received from the Division:

'Divisional General and Brigadier wish to congratulate all ranks of the 1st and 2nd Battalions on their performance of yesterday and to-day and their steadiness under fire.'

Both generals were in their battle stations, and having a panoramic view of the whole of the operations were able to see exactly what went on and to form their own opinions.

On the night of the 21st the 1st Battalion joined up with the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade and marched north for over 15 miles along the Jordan Valley on the west bank. Marching all night they took up a position at dawn with a view to attacking the Turks, who had a bridgehead on the west bank of the river at El Damieh. In the forenoon of the 22nd, after three hours' fighting, the men delivered an

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assault on the Turkish positions with the bayonet. The British West Indians on this occasion outdistanced the New Zealanders and got in first, capturing 8 officers and over 100 rank and file, together with 8 machine guns and a number of horses and pack mules. The enemy suffered heavily, and it is estimated that about 200 were buried around the bridgehead alone. The British West Indian casualties were almost nil, owing to the surprise nature of the attack. The crossing of the river was thus made good. The Turks were forced to retire to the east bank of the Jordan, and, being closely followed up, were driven into the foot-hills of the Moab Mountains.

After the fight, the officer commanding the 1st Battalion received the following telegram, dated the same day, from the brigadier:

'Please congratulate all ranks on their splendid behaviour and staunch work in to-day's operation.'

The Turks being now in full retreat, on the night following the Damieh fight the 1st Battalion crossed the river and climbed up the mountain sides by a kind of goat track to a point about two miles north-west of Es Salt. On the way they were sniped at and captured 30 prisoners. They then marched to Suweiler and finally to Amman, having covered approximately 70 miles in five days and climbed 4,500 feet.

Thus after long waiting some of the British West Indians at last had a chance to prove that they are good fighters. The following was Major-General Sir Edward Chaytor's report:

'Particularly noticeable was the steadiness of the 1st and 2nd Battalions, British West Indies Regiment, under fire, and their dash when called on to attack, particularly at Jisr El Damieh, and their extremely good marching powers up the steep hills to Es Salt and thence to Amman.'

In France, as in the East, the men were quite fearless under fire, and earned high praise from Lord Haig, who issued the following order regarding the regiment in 1917:

'These Battalions have been chiefly employed on ammunition duties in all the Armies, but they have also been employed on light railways and roads in forward areas. The ammunition duties have consisted in working at ammunition dumps, in handling ammunition at railheads and in carrying ammunition up to batteries. This work has been very arduous

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and has been carried out almost continuously under shell-fire. In spite of casualties the men have always shown themselves willing and cheerful workers, and the assistance they have rendered has been much appreciated by the units to which they have been attached and for whom they have been working. The physique of the men is exceptional, their discipline excellent and their morale high. They have rendered valuable services at times of great pressure and have been of the utmost assistance to the Siege Artillery of the Armies. Since they have arrived these units have been employed in all the main operations that have taken place, including the battles of the Somme, Arras, Messines and the operations near Ypres this year. Originally two Battalions were sent to France in 1916; there are now six serving in France and a seventh Battalion has just arrived.'

All the General Officers under whom the British West Indies Regiment served testified to the excellence of the bearing of the men under fire. The West Indian soldier showed himself to be indifferent to danger and undismayed by heavy casualties, while it was stated by one artillery officer that where a white man could handle three tons of shells in a day the British West Indian could move five.

The detachment in East Africa served on the lines of communication, acting throughout as a separate unit. In Mesopotamia a first draft of the regiment, consisting of 38 non-commissioned officers and men under Captain Devenish, arrived on 4th July 1916, and was followed on the 31st by Lieutenant Morgan with 61 non-commissioned officers and men, and in December by Captain L. A. Jeffery with 3 officers and 328 men. The detachment was further strengthened in August 1918 by a draft of 42 men, mostly recruited in British Honduras. They were mainly employed on guard duty at the various Inland Water Transport camps, about 100 serving as motor-boat drivers and a number as carpenters, blacksmiths, and clerks. This contingent was awarded three Meritorious Service Medals and received seven Mentions in Dispatches.

At the end of the war the various battalions were stationed in the under-mentioned countries under the command of the officers whose names are given:

1st Battalion	Lieut.-Col. C. Wood Hill, D.S.O.	Egypt
2nd ,,	Lieut.-Col. J. Poe	,,
3rd ,,	Colonel A. E. Barchard	France
4th ,,	Lieut.-Col. G. V. Hart	,,
5th ,,	Lieut-Col. A. W. M. Wilson	Egypt
6th ,,	Lieut.-Col. E. C. Ogle	France

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7th Battalion	Lieut.-Col. C. D. Arnold	France
8th „	Major Maxwell J. Smith	Italy
9th „	Lieut.-Col. R. E. Negus	France
10th „	Lieut.-Col. C. W. Long	Italy
11th „	Lieut.-Col. C. M. Ogilvie	„
Honduras Contingent	Captain Jeffery	Mesopotamia

In reviewing the part played by the British West Indies Regiment in the war, it is matter for regret that, instead of being brigaded under an officer familiar with the conditions of life in the West Indies and being given more chances in the firing-line, the regiment was divided up over the various theatres of war. Furthermore, when the pay of the British soldier was increased under Army Order I of 1918, the increment was withheld from the British West Indian soldier until the West Indian Contingent Committee, to whose work reference is made below, wrote a letter to the Government, signed by no fewer than seven ex-West Indian Governors. The letter called attention to the serious effect which differential treatment would have in the West Indies, apart altogether from the injustice to the West Indian soldiers themselves. Then, but only then, were the benefits under the Order extended to the British West Indies Regiment.

It was also left to the Contingent Committee to supply the regiment with a badge, the design of which was eventually approved by the War Office, on the understanding that the badges were supplied free of expense to the Government.

Apart from the 'official' West Indian contingents, detachments of young men were sent over for enlistment in the Navy and Army by bodies entitled 'The Trinidad Merchants and Planters Committee', of which Mr. George F. Huggins, O.B.E., was Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, and 'The Barbados Citizens Committee', with Mr. Dudley G. Leacock as Chairman and Mr. J. E. Mayers as Hon. Secretary. They numbered respectively 272 and 80 men, many of whom received commissions in His Majesty's Army. The records of these two contingents are set out below :

	Trinidad.	*Barbados.*
Officers	71	24
Cadets	14	—
N.C.O.'s	11	5
Privates	164	50
Too late for enlistment or rejected	12	1
Total . .	272	80

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Of the above, there were

	Trinidad.	*Barbados.*
Killed in action . . .	8	10
Lost at sea	—	1
Died of wounds . . .	2	1
Died of sickness . . .	5	2
Wounded and gassed . .	39	22
Prisoners of war . . .	4	3
Winners of distinctions . .	11	5

Many hundreds of young men also came over independently to join up.

Passing to the gifts of money and in kind made by the West Indies towards the conduct of the war, it will be of interest to recall what these colonies did in the Napoleonic wars. In 1795 the Legislature of Barbados, at the request of the admiral on the station, provided the armed brig *Lord Hawkesbury* for a space of four months to assist in blockading the French ports, and in 1798 they voted a contribution towards enabling His Majesty to prosecute the war, subscriptions being opened in every parish for this object and upwards of £13,000 being collected. At the same time and in the same manner the larger and wealthier island of Jamaica raised some £80,000. In 1804 the merchants of Barbados purchased a brig called the *Brave*, which had been captured from the enemy, and offered her to His Majesty's service to be employed on the island station under the name of the *Barbados* frigate. This gift was accepted by the Government, and Captain Nourse, whose descendant, Colonel Nourse, is to-day the owner of Ashbury Plantation in the parish of St. George, was appointed to command her. For eighteen months the *Barbados* scoured the Caribbean securing several prizes, and we learn from Schomburgk, in whose *History of Barbados* the above facts are given, that the spirited example of Barbados was followed by several other islands.

During the great war the West Indies made no gifts of ships, preferring to place money at the disposal of the Home Government to be used at discretion. In cash they contributed nearly £2,000,000 to the British Government and to war funds and charities in the United Kingdom. In kind they gave sugar, rum, cocoa, rice, and arrowroot. They presented nine aeroplanes to the Royal Flying Corps and Royal Air Force, one paid for by the residents of Dominica being the first to be

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contributed from overseas. To the British Red Cross Society they gave eleven motor ambulances besides ample sums for their upkeep and substantial contributions towards the general Red Cross Funds. Other funds which were generously supported were the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund, the Belgian Relief Fund, Queen Mary's Needlework Fund, the Star and Garter Fund, the French and Belgian Red Cross Funds, King George's Fund for Sailors, and Queen Alexandra's Field Force Fund.

Throughout the West Indies associations and committees were formed to carry out war work of various kinds, such as providing for the welfare of the contingents, sending fruit, bandages, and dressings for hospitals, collecting funds for the Red Cross and for the purchase of aeroplanes, ambulances, and so forth. In England, at the instance of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a body entitled the West Indian Contingent Committee was established at a meeting held at the Colonial Office on 15th August 1915. Sir Everard im Thurn, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., was appointed Chairman of the committee; Sir Frederic Hodgson, K.C.M.G., V.D., Deputy Chairman; Colonel Sir Edward Ward, Bart., G.B.E., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., Sir Sydney Olivier, K.C.M.G., C.B., Mr. R. Rutherford, and Mr. H. F. Previté, Hon. Treasurers, and the present writer, Hon. Secretary, ably seconded by Mr. G. P. Osmond, chief clerk of The West India Committee. The objects of the committee were to provide for the welfare of the West Indian military contingents and of men coming over independently to serve in His Majesty's forces during the war. In connexion with this body a Ladies' Committee, with the Countess of Stamford as President and the late Lady Davson as Chairman, and Miss Mary Moseley as Hon. Secretary, performed valuable work in providing comforts for the troops and in visiting sick and wounded men in hospital. For her services in this connexion Miss Moseley was awarded the M.B.E. Other ladies who rendered valuable help were Lady Cameron, Mrs. Aspinall, Mrs. and Miss Bamford, Mrs. John Bromley, Mrs. Rutherford, Mrs. Woodroffe, Miss Wilkinson, Mrs. Martinez, and Miss Audrey Jeffers.

The West Indian Contingent Committee raised altogether by voluntary contributions £31,980, which sum was expended in providing comforts for the troops at the front and men

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MR. ALGERNON ASPINALL

Secretary of the West India Committee

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in hospital, badges and Christmas Gifts for the rank and file of the British West Indies Regiment, board and lodging for men on leave, musical instruments, and games. For the first time in history many thousands of non-European volunteers were taking their place side by side with white troops in European warfare, and it was not unnatural that difficulties and misunderstandings should occasionally have arisen. In such cases the committee was able to give help and favourable consideration was shown by the Army Council to the representations which it felt it its duty to make on questions of pay and gratuities.

To the West Indies the war brought no hardships and no suffering except for the men who went overseas to fight and for the relatives of those who lost their lives. On the contrary it gave them a period of abounding prosperity such as they had not enjoyed since the early years of the nineteenth century. No enemy raid actually took place, and there was no real shortage of foodstuffs for any prolonged period. There were no heavy income taxes and excess profit duties, and but few irksome war-time restrictions.

Throughout the war the conduct of the people was beyond reproach. Strikes occasionally occurred when the rate of wages failed to rise with the cost of living, but the intense patriotism of West Indians from the highest to the lowest was unquestioned. Though the horrors of war were never brought home to them, they appreciated to the full extent that England's war was their war, and that a German victory would mean the end of the great Empire of which they are so proud to be citizens.

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SECTION II

JAMAICA[1]

JAMAICA, taken in Cromwell's time, was the first British possession overseas acquired by conquest, and has always stood high in the story of the Empire. It is the largest by far of the British West Indian islands, being considerably more than half the size of Wales. The Turks and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands are dependencies of Jamaica. In 1914 the population of the island numbered about 850,000, Kingston, the capital, being a city of some 50,000 inhabitants. It is an island of many harbours and of varied resources, plantation products, timber, and live-stock. The chief industry before the war was banana-growing, fruit had long superseded sugar in the lists of exports, and the principal market was the United States. Until late in the nineteenth century, the island had an elected assembly, and under the present constitution there is a strong elective element in the legislative council. During the war, until the end of May 1918, the Governor was Brig.-Gen. Sir William Manning, now G.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., who had seen much active service, and who came to Jamaica from the government of Nyasaland. Upon his transfer to Ceylon, he was succeeded early in June 1918 by Sir Leslie Probyn, K.C.M.G., previously Governor of Barbados.

Jamaica was the only British West Indian Colony in 1914 which still retained an Imperial garrison, and a battalion of the West India Regiment was always stationed in the island. Under a Militia Law of 1879 Militia infantry and a company of Militia artillery had been raised, but the infantry in 1914 was represented only by the St. Andrew Rifle Corps, which received some financial help from the Colonial Government but was not formally recognized as a defence force unit. The Jamaica constabulary was a semi-military body, modelled upon the Royal Irish Constabulary, with a strength of rather under 1,000, exclusive of district constables.

[1] This account has mainly been compiled from notes kindly supplied by Mr. Frank Cundall, Secretary and Librarian of the Institute of Jamaica and Chairman of the Jamaica War Memorial Committee.

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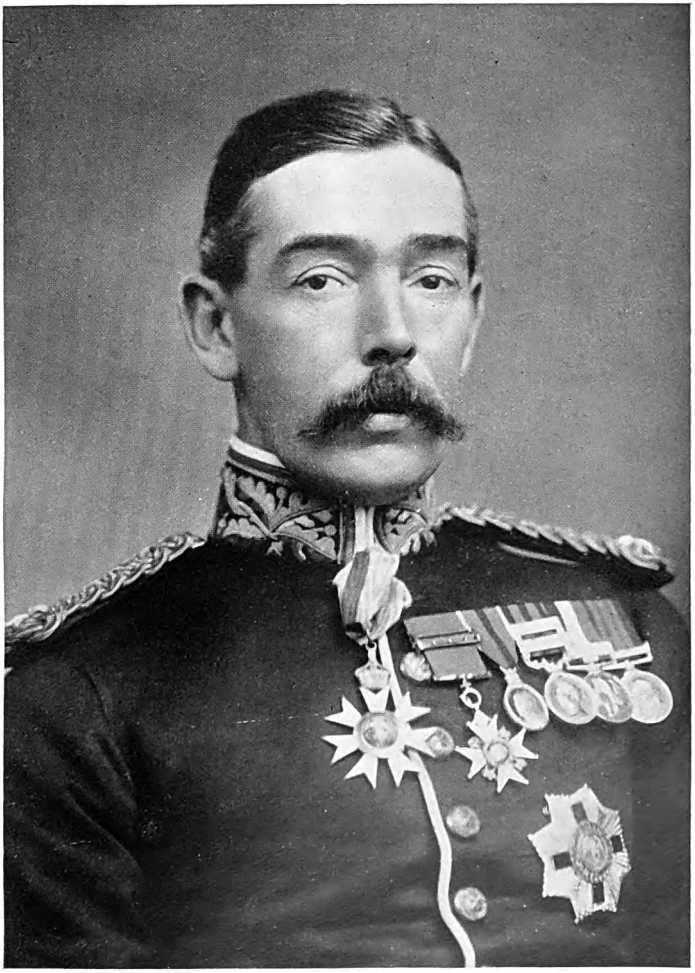

SIR WILLIAM MANNING

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On the day following the declaration of war, martial law was proclaimed and a censorship established. The Legislature met on the 13th of August, various emergency laws were passed and measures taken to meet the crisis. The Governor recalled the traditional patriotism of Jamaica and expressed the view, which all held, that, while the British Navy was the great bulwark of the island, on land the community ought, as far as possible, to provide for self-defence. A sum of £10,000 was voted for defence purposes, a law was passed providing that the police should be liable to military service in case of invasion, and a new volunteer force law authorized the formation of a Jamaica Volunteer Defence Force. The force was to consist of companies of infantry and mounted infantry, with power to the Governor to form them into a regiment or battalion. The members were liable to be called out by proclamation for active service in the event of invasion or war, or the threat of it, or again in case of dangerous internal trouble. But it was to be purely a home defence force and the volunteers would not be liable to duty outside the island except at their own free will. Three units were constituted under the law. The first was the St. Andrew Rifle Corps, now given legal status as a company of the volunteer force, 120 strong, under the title of 'The Kingston Infantry Volunteers'. The second was a body of scouts, 'The Jamaica Corps of Scouts', in two sections, 200 armed and mounted scouts to patrol the coasts of the island, and 100 bicycle scouts. The bicycle scouts had only a short life, being disbanded in the middle of November 1914, but the armed and mounted scouts were not disbanded till the end of 1916. The main body of the defence force was the Jamaica Reserve Regiment. It was to be enrolled and organized in companies in each parish without being actually called up until occasion should arise. Each company was to consist of 52 men and two officers, and the number of companies varied in the different parishes. At the end of 1915 the total strength exceeded 1,100. Over and above the volunteers, the Jamaica Militia Artillery, already in existence under the Militia Law, formed a company of 100 men with four officers. Thus the Jamaicans at once took steps to guard their shores, and the desire to do more was embodied in a telegram sent by the Governor on the 1st of September 1914: 'The people of Jamaica unanimously desire to contribute to the Imperial

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Government in some way towards the expenses of the war other than its own local defence.' A gift of sugar from the next crop was offered and accepted and £50,000 worth of sugar was given early in 1915. The offer was made at the instance of the elected members of the Legislative Council.

Offers of personal service had already poured in and young men from Jamaica were leaving to join the fighting forces. Then, in Jamaica as in other colonies, the cases of men who wished to go to the front but could not afford to do so attracted the attention of their richer fellow citizens, and further, after the danger of invasion or raid had been for the time dispelled, while the magnitude of the required effort became more apparent, the desire to send definitive contingents took root and grew and wish was translated into action.

The Jamaica contingent originated with a letter written to the *Gleaner* newspaper, on the 23rd of April 1915, by Mr. William Wilson (now O.B.E.), an English business resident of Kingston, in which he suggested raising a fund to enable 200 native-born Jamaicans, unable themselves to bear the expense, to go to fight. A War Contingent Committee was formed, including the Governor and the Brigadier-General commanding the garrison. A strong women's movement was headed by the Kingston Women's Fund Committee, the 27th of July 1915 was constituted a Jamaica Flag Day and brought in over £2,000, a Jamaica War Contingent fund was opened, and close on £10,000 were subscribed. The first Jamaica Contingent, which left on the following 8th of November, was in a special sense the child of the original War Contingent Committee and paid for from its funds. But almost from the first the enterprise widened. The matter was taken up by the elected members of the Legislature, a purely private effort for helping individual Jamaicans to serve developed into a plan for an island unit, the island unit constantly expanded, and eventually the Jamaica contingents became nearly two-thirds in all of a force representing the whole of the British West Indies. This was the British West Indies Regiment, of which a full account is given elsewhere.[1] It was at first suggested that a contingent of 500 men should be sent from Jamaica, this number was at the instance of the War Office raised to 550, further correspondence passed, the scheme

[1] See above pp. 334–40.

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being gradually elaborated, and on the 16th of September 1915 the Governor was able to inform the Legislative Council that the formation of the regiment had been approved and to state the conditions attached to the acceptance of a Jamaica contingent. The Colony was to pay the cost of transport to the United Kingdom and of monthly drafts to replace casualties estimated at 15 per cent. The Imperial Government would clothe, equip, and train the men, repatriate them and bear the cost of separation allowances and of gratuities in lieu of pensions. A resolution embodying these terms was moved in the Council, but was patriotically amended, so as to charge the island revenues, instead of those of the Mother Country, with the cost of separation and disability allowances, gratuities, and pensions. Ultimately it was decided that Jamaica should contribute a force of 2,550 men with annual reinforcing drafts of the same number, and the Legislature determined to pay the whole expenses of the contingents in the form of a contribution to the Imperial Treasury, in reduction of the War Debt of the United Kingdom, of £60,000 annually for 40 years, beginning a year after the end of the war. A resolution to that effect was formally adopted in March 1916 and embodied in a law passed in March 1917. The sum was taken to represent interest and sinking fund on a capital expenditure for the Jamaica contingents of £1,000,000.

The War Contingent Committee continued its work until the first Overseas contingent had been dispatched. From that date recruiting was left to an organization created by the Government. On the 25th of September 1915 circulars were sent out detailing the terms of service and inviting recruits, the place of enlistment being Up Park Camp, to which free transport was given; and in October the Governor headed a recruiting campaign at Kingston. Subsequently to the departure of the first contingent, towards the end of November 1915, a central recruiting committee, which also acted as recruiting committee for Kingston, and a committee for each parish, were appointed, and the parochial committees constituted sub-committees for the different districts of their respective parishes. Thus a network of recruiting agencies was spread through the island and young Jamaicans came forward in large numbers to volunteer for enlistment. A system of registration for each parish was introduced so that no

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more men should be sent to the camp at any one time than were likely to be required, and the register divided applicants for service into three categories, men suitable for appointment as non-commissioned officers, men otherwise fit for military service, and illiterates or men temporarily unfit for active service. Illiteracy was made a bar to overseas service until November 1916, when the test was withdrawn. Final medical examination of fitness for such service was carried out at the camp, and only about one in five was found physically qualified. Those who were certified as fit, having declared their willingness to serve abroad, and having been attested as members of the British West Indies Regiment, were drilled and trained, the recruits for the latest contingents, after acceptance at Up Park Camp, being passed on to a camp formed at Port Royal. From the date of embarkation all the men became members of the British Regular Army.

Owing to the already onerous duties of the garrison staff and the inability to spare trained officers and non-commissioned officers from the bases, much of the early training devolved upon British residents and civilians who had gained experience of and ability to control Jamaicans on the plantations and in the industrial enterprises of the island. It was generally agreed that the commands benefited by a good leaven of such officers and non-commissioned officers, whose lack of technical military experience was compensated for by personal understanding of the natives of Jamaica.

In the first few months recruiting was worked in close touch with the military head-quarters and the staff officer of the local forces acted as secretary to the central recruiting committee. Pressure of work made a change necessary and towards the end of January 1916 the central committee, whose office was moved to the Public Works Department, took undivided responsibility for recruiting, and subsequently was charged also with all the manifold business relating to disabled soldiers, help to dependants, demobilization, and settlement of the returned men. The Chairman was the Director of Public Works, Mr. J. H. W. Park (now O.B.E.), who in this capacity, later as Chairman of the Central Supplementary Allowances Committee, to which further reference will be made, and later again as Food Controller, rendered invaluable public service. In April 1916 technical difficulties which had arisen were

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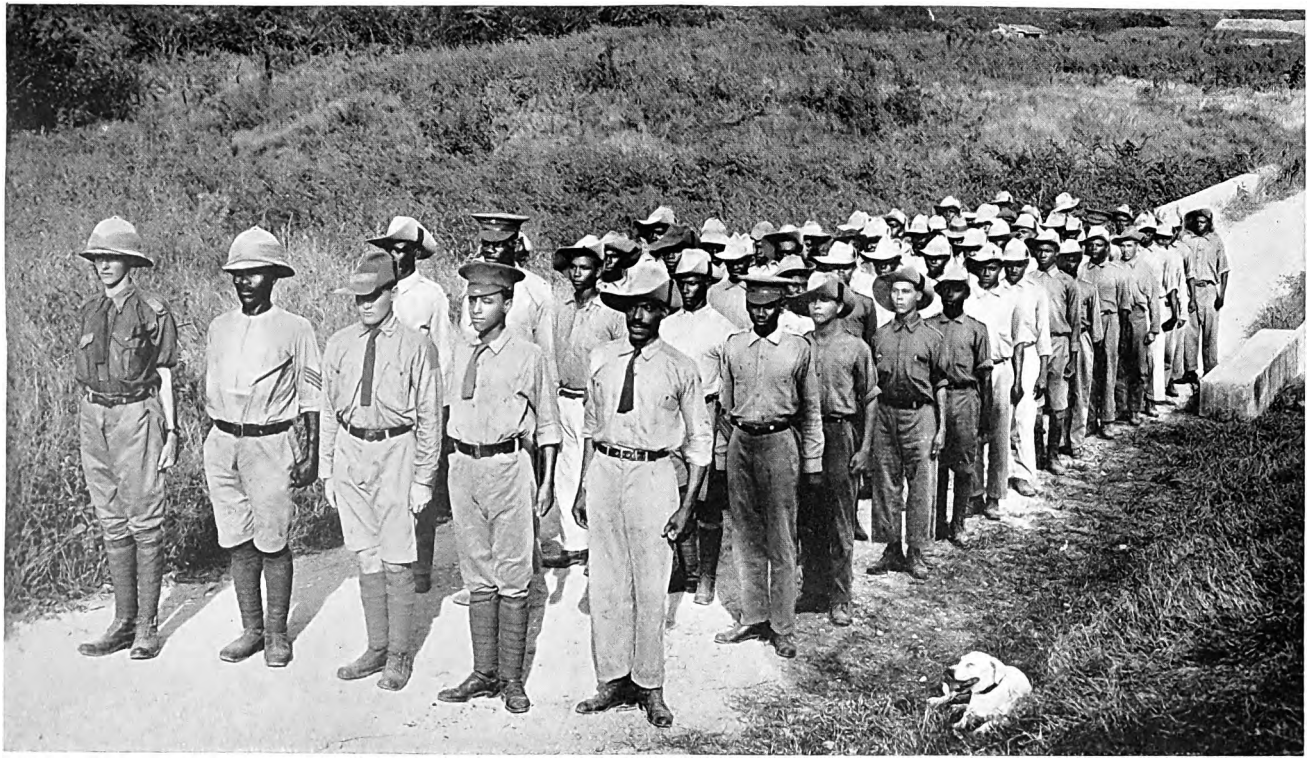

JAMAICA CONTINGENT IN TRAINING

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partially removed by a new law 'to regulate the procedure to be adopted by persons enlisting recruits for the Jamaican Contingent'.

As drafts multiplied, while the numbers of those who could not pass the physical standard continued high, the search for recruits extended to Jamaicans residing outside the island. In the early days of the contingents, intending recruits had come over at their own expense, or helped by richer British citizens, from Panama and Costa Rica, from Bocas del Toro, Colon, and Port Limon. The fruit trade of Jamaica is very largely in the hands of the United Fruit Company, which operates also in Central America. On their Central American plantations were many Jamaican workmen, and here was a good recruiting ground. Moreover, for many years past, work on the Panama Canal had attracted large numbers of British West Indians, including Jamaicans. The entry of the United States into the war removed all difficulties, carefully nursed by the Germans on the spot, as to recruiting in the Canal Zone, and from May to August 1917 nearly 2,100 recruits were shipped to Jamaica. Their quality was as satisfactory as their number, only about 300 being sent back as medically unfit, and the two last Jamaica contingents consisted largely of Panama men.

But already a more far-reaching measure had been adopted. Both in and outside the Legislative Council resolutions had been passed in favour of compulsory military service. A motion having been carried to that effect in the Council in March 1917, a Bill followed, and on the 1st of June was passed at the third reading, by a majority of 21 to 4, a law 'to make provision with respect to military service in connexion with the present war'. Under this law all male British subjects resident in Jamaica between the ages of 18 and 41, with specified exceptions, became liable for military service, whether within or without the island, during the war. Provision was made for the registration of all male residents between the ages of 16 and 41 with certain exceptions; the Governor was given full power to call up for service those who were liable, either by name or by class, unmarried or childless men to be first taken; if the number called up exceeded the number actually required, the ballot was to be employed; and a tribunal was provided for hearing and deciding claims to exemption. The register

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was completed by the end of August 1917 but, as it had been found inadvisable to send West Indians to Europe in winter time, recruiting was suspended early in October, and not till the middle of the following January were instructions given to prepare the lists, the intention being that the number called up from each parish should be proportionate to its population but with due regard to the number of fighting men which the parish had already supplied. In 1918, however, every available transport was needed to carry the fast multiplying American army to Europe. In May it was decided to suspend recruiting; the men who were already in training at Port Royal and waiting to be shipped were disbanded, while their officers, 12 in number, went on to Europe; and thus, beyond the preliminary stages, the Military Service law was never brought into operation. But it will ever stand to the credit of Jamaica that in the Overseas Empire she was next to New Zealand in adopting compulsory military service.

Nine Jamaica contingents in all were dispatched, from the 8th November 1915 to the 2nd of October 1917, and the total numbers have been given as high as 250 officers and 11,042 rank and file.[1] The first contingent included about 240 men from British Honduras and the Bahamas. The transport carrying the third contingent was, as has been told,[2] in March 1916, caught in a blizzard on its way to Halifax with the result that not far short of 400 out of 1,100 were disabled from frostbite or otherwise, and some died. The embarkation of the fourth contingent was delayed by an epidemic of measles at Up Park Camp. The fifth contingent, which was landed at Brest on the 17th of April 1917, was the first detachment of the British West Indies Regiment to be sent direct to France.

In addition to the officers of the regiment, 381 Jamaicans are recorded as having received commissions in other British units, and many of them were killed. Including them, the Roll of Honour amounted to 82 officers and 1,019 men. The honours

[1] It will be noted that these figures differ materially from those given above on p. 335. The difference is probably accounted for in part by inclusion of men from other colonies in the Jamaica contingents, also, by somewhat different bases of calculation. The number of men that embarked from a colony to join the British West Indies Regiment did not by any means necessarily coincide with the number who actually served in the regiment. Note e. g. the case of the contingent on the *Verdala*. Probably the overseas fighting strength of Jamaica may be taken as having been rather over 10,000.

[2] Above, p. 336.

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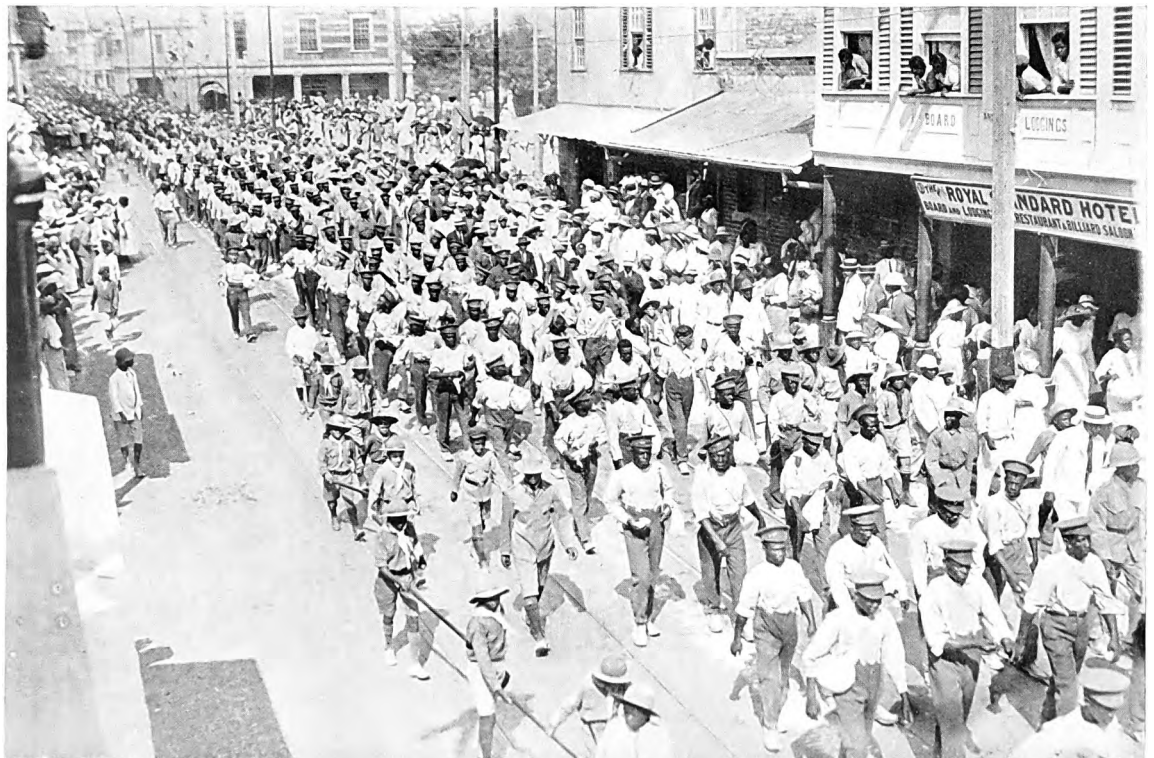

THE FIRST CONTINGENT LEAVING JAMAICA

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won on active service by men resident in or connected by family with Jamaica included 1 V.C. (awarded posthumously to Lieut. F. A. de Pass, of the 34th Prince Albert Victor's Own Poona Horse, for conspicuous gallantry near Festubert on 24th November 1914), 5 D.S.O., 27 M.C., 1 D.S.C., 1 D.C.M., 17 M.M., and 23 Mentions in Dispatches. After the Armistice the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on behalf of the British Government and the Mother Country, telegraphed high appreciation of the military effort made by the people of Jamaica and her dependencies, of 'their cheerful acceptance of compulsory service in the common cause, and their unfailing support in the great struggle in spite of the difficulties in which visitations of nature have involved them at home. I recall with pride and gratitude the share of the men of Jamaica in the final victory in Palestine.'

In 1919, 7,234 men were returned to Jamaica for demobilization, the transports arriving from the beginning of May onwards. The care of returned soldiers had been transferred from the Central Recruiting Committee to a Central Supplementary Allowances Committee, appointed on the 25th of March 1918. This latter committee administered the vote for pensions, for grants to and treatment of discharged soldiers, for grants to soldiers' dependants, and generally supervised the work of demobilization with its various troublesome problems. Jamaica was not unmindful of the men whom she sent to fight or of their families, and government funds were supplemented by a Contingent Sufferers' Fund, raised by voluntary subscriptions at the instance of the *Gleaner*. The Queen's Hotel was taken over for a soldiers' home until the 31st of March 1920. In August 1917 a home for the children of soldiers on active service was opened by the Government at the Rio Cobre Hotel in Spanish Town. The men on return were taken back to their homes and paid off in their own parishes. In all the parishes committees were formed to aid them in returning to civil employment, and a register of men desiring work was opened at Kingston. Free permits to Cuba were issued up to the end of March 1920 to those who wished to take employment in that island, and large numbers went. Loans were made from government funds for settlement on the land, and industrial training for disabled men was provided. Prior to demobilization, a scheme of education

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for invalided and disabled members of the war contingent had been elaborated. The Government Technical School took charge of the practical side of this effort and trades were taught, including tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry and joinery, metal-working and tinsmith's work. Elementary education, book-keeping, and typewriting courses were also arranged. The board and lodging of those whose homes were not at Kingston was undertaken as a voluntary service by the Salvation Army. On completing their courses, the men were provided with the kit required for practising their trades and, as far as possible, were found connexions in their own neighbourhoods by the local recruiting committees. Steady employment was provided for some of the shoemakers by placing a contract for police boots, and a shop was opened for their accommodation at the Technical School. Artificial limbs and travelling chairs were supplied to those who had suffered amputation. Private effort and private generosity very admirably supplemented government action in all matters relating to the Jamaica contingents, and in this connexion, as well as in regard to war efforts generally, a tribute should be paid to the *Gleaner* newspaper, ably and patriotically edited by Mr. Herbert G. de Lisser (now C.M.G.).

Apart from the gifts by the Jamaica Government already mentioned, Jamaicans, both in and out of Jamaica, subscribed liberally to war funds and charities. The total amount of money subscriptions to be credited to Jamaica, including the Turks Islands and the Caymans, from both government and private sources, has been officially given as follows :

Year.	*Cash.*		
	£	*s.*	*d.*
1914	66,218	14	2
1915	27,791	17	6
1916	10,464	5	5
1917	8,597	13	11
1918	20,229	17	2
1919	1,481	11	10
1920	60,000	0	0 to be continued annually for 40 years.

Over £20,000 were collected up to the 31st March 1915 before the War Contingent Fund was initiated or the Red Cross had made any special appeal. The principal beneficiaries were :

(*a*) Various funds in connexion with the Jamaica contingents.

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(*b*) The Red Cross.
(*c*) The Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund.
(*d*) King George's Fund for Sailors.
(*e*) Queen Mary's Fund.
(*f*) Jamaica Aeroplane Fund.

A total of over £15,000 was subscribed for the Jamaica Contingents, of about £20,000 for the British Red Cross, of over £8,000 for the Prince of Wales's Fund, of over £6,000 for the Aeroplane Fund, which provided two aeroplanes, in addition to contributing to the general aeroplane funds of the Overseas Club. A fund, initiated by Miss Douet, herself a Red Cross nurse, was raised which paid for a bed for wounded soldiers at the Star and Garter Hotel. The Jewish community was primarily responsible for a Polish Jews Fund. Gifts in money were supplemented by most widely distributed gifts in kind, the Jamaica Agricultural Society being responsible for some 7,600 packages of island produce sent across the seas, in addition to similar gifts to hospitals and ships in Jamaica, boxes of oranges and grape fruit, bales of walking sticks and crutches, and cases of clothing in which the women's work came in. The women of Jamaica were strenuous in patriotic endeavour. Their successful backing of the War Contingent Committee has been told above, and in recruiting campaigns they were most effective. They were active on Contingent Comforts Committees and in Ladies' Working Associations, and some 24 Red Cross Nurses were supplied by Jamaica.

The immediate effect of the war could not fail to be injurious to the island revenues. In September 1914 the Legislature reimposed additional duties which had previously been remitted upon imported goods in the *ad valorem* list to the amount of 6⅔ per cent., but with the votes which were taken in the same War Session of £10,000 for defence purposes and £50,000 for a gift of sugar to the Home Government, the financial year ended on the 31st March 1915 with a deficit. There had been a drought before the war, but in spite of it, and in spite of the war, the trade returns of 1914 bore witness to a good year. In value the exports of island produce made a record, there was a record export of cocoa and cocoanuts, the banana industry, the staple industry of the island, prospered, and from the first sugar benefited by the war.

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The food question at once engaged the attention of the Government. Small settlers were urged to grow larger quantities of foodstuffs, with the result that, at any rate in the earlier stages of the war, there was an ample stock of food. In the spring session of 1915 laws were passed empowering the Governor to fix maximum prices for food and kerosine, to take possession of supplies, returns of which were to be made, and to prohibit exports. This 1915 session was prolific in war legislation, including a Defence of the Island law, and alien restriction and trading with the enemy laws. The number of aliens interned was 698. In August 1915 the island was visited by a hurricane, there was another in August 1916, and yet a third in September 1917, a threefold repetition of such storms in continuous years being almost unprecedented in the history of the island and quite unprecedented since fruit growing had become its main speciality. Moreover, apart from the hurricanes, the rainfall of the years 1916 and 1917 was exceptionally heavy. Coming in the midst of the war these disasters accentuated difficulties and further straitened the finances. They had also the effect of depressing the fruit-growing industry in strong contrast to the marked revival of sugar, for bananas and coco-nuts suffered mainly from the hurricanes. Owing to the hurricane of 1915, and owing also to want of tonnage, there was a falling off on the year in the total of both exports and imports ; but there was a very good sugar crop and an increase in the export of sugar ; cocoa again showed a record, and the blockade of Germany, which cut off German synthetic dyes, caused an abnormal demand for dyewoods with the result that Jamaica logwood profited greatly. Logwood cutting and the repairs required to make good the damage caused by the hurricane went far to prevent unemployment. When the 31st of March 1916 came it was found that the revenue of 1915–16 had met the normal expenditure, but this was partly because in the March session of 1916 a number of new taxes had been imposed by various laws with a view to the coming financial year, and some of them had already begun to bear fruit. The laws were passed only till the end of the financial year 1916–17, but they were renewed year by year till the end of the war, and when the war was over, 1919 saw further new and drastic taxation. The taxes imposed in 1916 included

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export duties on coco-nuts and cocoa, on hides, logwood, rum, and sugar, a special excise duty upon sugar, increases in existing import duties and additions to the list of dutiable articles, increased licences, excise duties on rum and beer, tobacco and matches, doubled stamp duties, and a postal war tax, which however was not levied on inland letters.

The year 1916 would have been very prosperous but for the second hurricane. The crop of sugar and rum was the largest since 1884 and the fortunate sugar-planter could sell at abnormally high prices. Logwood continued to be in great demand. Both imports and exports, in value, showed an increase on 1915, and the extra taxation enabled the accounts of 1916–17 to be closed with a substantial balance on the right side.

The revenue for 1917–18 fell below the figures of the previous financial year and there was a decrease in the value of exports in 1917 as compared with 1916, but sugar and logwood continued to prosper and live-stock, especially mules, were in demand. 32,000 tons of sugar were exported in 1917, constituting a record for latter-day Jamaica, and the value of the sugar exported was double that of the island sugar crop 40 years previously, while sugar was still the staple product of the island. The export of copra in this year was also considerable. The constant efforts to stimulate home production of food had resulted in a marked increase in the acreage under ground provisions.

The last year of the war, 1918, showed a falling off in sugar exports, but the industry continued to prosper, more sugar was being grown and sugar factories were being built. There was a cessation of storms and a better season for bananas. The growing scarcity of shipping added to anxiety as to food, in February 1918 the people were again urged to grow more ground provisions, and meatless days were instituted at Kingston. The end of the war by no means meant the immediate solution of the food question or making good the lost ships. There was a fresh campaign for increased home production of foodstuffs, and the year 1919 opened with the passing of a food control law and the appointment of a food controller. In truth the effects of the war were accentuated after the war was over, but in one respect at any rate the return of peace brought immediate benefit; there

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was a marked revival of the tourist traffic, the comparative nearness of Jamaica to the United States attracting additional American visitors who in times of abundant shipping would have gone farther afield.

The extent to which West Indian Merchant Shipping was dislocated and damaged by the war is well illustrated by the record of Elders & Fyffes Limited, which is closely associated with Jamaica. From October 1914 till after the Armistice five of the company's ships were requisitioned for employment as armed merchant cruisers and two of them were torpedoed and sunk. Three more were requisitioned to act as armed escorts convoying merchant vessels. Ten were requisitioned at different dates by the Director of Transports or the Ministry of Shipping; among the ten, five were torpedoed and sunk and two others lost. Two ships, while on the company's own service, were torpedoed and sunk, one of them, the *Zent* while in ballast, unarmed and without warning, 47 men out of a complement of 58 being drowned.[1] One ship was interned at Hamburg throughout the war, and, when the Armistice came, only one vessel out of the whole fleet was being employed on the company's own business.

Jamaica during the war was true to her tradition of Imperial patriotism. The number of men sent to fight does not seem large in proportion to the population, but, as has been pointed out, very many volunteered who were not found to be of sufficient stamina for military service in climates and under conditions widely different from those of the tropical West Indies. The Jamaica 10,000 or more were, as the size and the population of the island dictated, by far the largest contingent sent from the West Indies, and the passing of the Military Service Law was conclusive proof of the will to send more. It was a very substantial effort for a West Indian Colony, and was matched by the courage with which the Legislature provided for relieving the Imperial Exchequer of all the cost involved. It could not but have a permanent effect upon the life and the thought of the community. It meant Empire partnership for the coloured citizens of the island upon a scale and in a way unknown before, and in the returned soldiers there was imported into the island a strong leaven of those

[1] Over and above this loss sixty-six of the Company's men were killed in action or died on active service on land or sea.

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whose eyes had been opened to new scenes and minds to new views, to whom the war had, of necessity, brought an added savour of equality. They came back with the making of better citizens, but, for the time, unsettled for the home life of a Jamaica labourer, and more than half went on to Cuba, whence they brought back money to invest in land and stock in their own island. It has been seen that the war years were largely years of unkind weather and consequent calls for relief. Had there been no war, hurricanes and storms would have been the outstanding feature of the time. But the Government did not relax its war effort or curtail its war expenditure and the public rose to the emergencies. Industrially and financially the war was by no means wholly injurious. Past history tells that the British West Indies have more often gained than lost by war, and there was a kind of compensation in the immense impetus which was given to sugar, so surpassingly prosperous in the war-stricken eighteenth century, so prostrate when, in the reign of Queen Victoria, the Empire was not troubled by world-wide wars.

Of the dependencies of Jamaica during the war there is little to record. The Cayman Islanders do not number 6,000 in all, but the proportion of white to coloured is exceptionally high for the West Indies, the whites forming two-fifths of the total population. Turtle fishers and boatmen, they followed their callings, as best they could, in the war years, and only 30 are recorded as having gone on active service, 10 with the Imperial Forces, 5 with the Canadian, 15 with the United States Army. They were, however, well represented in the merchant marine, both British and American. Like Jamaica itself, these small islands, which lie away at a distance of rather under 200 miles to the north-west, suffered in the years 1915–17 from a succession of hurricanes and high seas which played havoc with the provision grounds and necessitated relief, while in the early part of 1918 drought took the place of storms. An abnormal export of logwood and an issue of war stamps were evidences of the war. In each of the three years 1914, 1916, and 1919, the Cayman Islands Government voted 100 guineas to the Imperial Government, as a contribution to war expenses.

The numbers of the population in the Turks and Caicos Islands are much the same as in the Caymans. They are

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a lightly taxed, prosperous, and self-supporting community and showed their patriotism by contributing from their Treasury to Imperial War Funds £1,000 in 1915, and £450 in 1918. In 1915 they voted £500 for the purchase of a motor ambulance for the British Red Cross Society and in 1918 £50 for the Red Cross. They also in 1917 gave £200 for the relief of the sufferers from the Halifax disaster. Excluding natives of the islands, who, at the time of the war, were residing in other parts of the West Indies and Central America, several of whom joined the British Honduras, Bahamas, or Bermuda contingents, about thirty of the islanders are stated to have gone on active service either with the British or with the American army. Among them three white men enlisted in the ranks of the British army, and two of them rose to hold commissions, as Captain and Lieutenant respectively. The islands were little affected by the war, except in so far as exports were hampered by want of shipping and the cost of necessaries was increased. In the early part of the war the peasantry were persuaded to plant an additional amount of ground provisions which for the time ensured cheap food, and later a supply of imported food-stuffs was maintained through the good offices of the United States War Trade Board. Salt raking is the principal industry of the islands and the war made 1917 a red-letter year for Turks Islands' salt, which, in consequence of interference by German submarines with shipments of salt from Spanish ports, was in great demand at very high prices. During the war a cotton industry was developed and Upland cotton was exported for the first time. The war left no aftermath of depression, as was the case in many other parts of the Empire, and surplus assets in the Treasury and deposits in the Savings Bank testified to prosperity.

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SECTION III

BARBADOS

THE island of Barbados, very little larger than the Isle of Wight, had in 1914 a population of 176,000, rather more than 1,000 to the square mile. The capital, Bridgetown, a town of some 17,000 inhabitants in 1914, stands on Carlisle Bay in the south-west of the island. Barbados has a history out of all proportion to its size, an unbroken British tradition, and a place in Empire wars since the Empire came into being. It has a legislature of two houses, the elected House of Assembly being next to the House of Commons and the Bermuda House of Assembly the oldest representative institution in the Empire. The Governor during the war till the end of May 1918 was Sir Leslie Probyn, K.C.M.G., who had previously been Governor of Sierra Leone. Upon his transfer to the Government of Jamaica, he was succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel C. R. M. O'Brien, now Sir Charles O'Brien, K.C.M.G., who had been Governor of the Seychelles.

Barbados has always been very exclusively a sugar-growing island, though cotton has to some extent of late years supplemented sugar, and, like other colonies dependent upon a single product, it prospered during the war because the product was in great demand and British control of the sea ensured its transport to the market.[1]

The colony, ancient and loyal, and wholly British in history and feeling, contained practically no enemy subjects or interest, commercial or otherwise. In point of fact only one case of enemy interest, of very minor importance, was disclosed to the official custodian during the whole period of the war. Implicit confidence in the British Navy, and the belief, generally expressed at the beginning, that a few months would see the end of the war, gave the people a sense of security. The known presence of hostile ships of war in

[1] The account which follows was in the main compiled by Mr. T. E. Fell, C.M.G., late Colonial Secretary of the Colony, and Mr. A. Somers Cocks, M.A., Second Master of Harrison College, Barbados.

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West Indian waters created some uneasiness, but, although insurances against bombardment were effected early in the war by a few merchants and citizens in Bridgetown, the majority regarded this action as an excess of caution. Some depression was caused by the early retreat on Paris, but this was quickly dissipated by the news of the victory of the Marne. In process of time, however, the deadlock on the French and Flemish fronts, the enemy superiority in men and material, the heavy British casualties, the appeal for men, and especially Lord Kitchener's prediction of a three years' war, brought home to Barbadians the possibilities of the future. A feeling of uncertainty as to the issue, that stalemate and not victory might be the result, was produced. Finally, it became clear to all that the immensity of the effort required to overcome Germany and her allies would necessitate the whole-hearted co-operation of the United British Empire.

In 1914 there was no longer any regular garrison in the island, and its safekeeping was in the hands of the police and of a small force of volunteers. The strength of the police in August 1914 was 316 of all ranks. A local Act of 1909 provided for a volunteer force, a volunteer reserve, and affiliated cadet corps. On the 31st of July 1914 the volunteers numbered 197 of all ranks and during August the strength was increased to 269.

Though Bridgetown had ceased to be in any sense an Imperial station, it was, and is always likely to be, a constant place of call for merchant shipping, and the coaling of such ships formed an important part of the industry of the island. It was an undefended port, and Barbadians believed that it would, therefore, be immune from bombardment. There was, however, a considerable stock of bunker coal in store, and it was conceivable that a raid might be made by the *Karlsruhe* with the object of obtaining coal. Coaling at Barbados is effected by lighters propelled by sweeps. At a certain point in Carlisle Bay a narrow and shallow arm of the sea runs inland for some distance and is known as the Careenage. Lighters loaded with coal are berthed in the upper part of the Careenage about 400 yards from the open sea. Seizure of coal, besides being difficult and dangerous, would have been futile, were it not possible to use these

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lighters for conveying the coal to the ship. To protect them against seizure the entrance to the Careenage was closed, at first by a boom and later by a barrier of crossed railway rails cemented into the bottom of the channel. This barrier had an opening large enough to allow small craft to go in and out, and the opening was provided with a gate consisting of a lighter similarly fitted with crossed rails. The idea was that, on the approach of an enemy ship, the lighter could be rapidly sunk, closing the entrance, delaying the landing of a raiding party, and preventing coal-laden lighters from being towed out. A delay in the approach of a raiding party would give the volunteers a favourable opportunity for attack and resistance. Orders were issued that any lighters which might be surprised at work in the outer harbour should be scuppered, while at sunset on each day all lighters should be berthed in the Upper Basin of the Careenage and the gateway (humorously known as the 'Iron Duke') closed.

No raid was attempted, however, though there were several alarms. On one occasion when the approach of what eventually proved to be a neutral warship, caused the Local Defence Force to be turned out, the population showed no particular apprehension but rather curiosity to see what would happen. The barrier remained in position until August 1917, when the presence of heavy guns and of naval patrol launches made its further continuance unnecessary. The scheme of defence was approved by naval officers who visited the port and was well conceived for its special purpose. Probably, had an enemy raid been attempted, the barrier would have caused delay sufficient to allow some British or Allied warship to be called up before a precious load of coal had been carried off.

Guards from the local forces were, on the outbreak of war, placed over the wireless and cable stations, and pickets were posted on the pierhead and at other look-out stations. Whenever hostile submarines or raiders were known to be at large in the Atlantic, a company of the Volunteer Force was continuously on duty at St. Ann's Garrison, with sharp-eyed boys on the outlook. The land around the garrison was declared to be a military area under the Public Safety Act. The Local Defence Force, composed of the volunteers and police, was increased in numbers and assiduously trained, and an additional machine gun was presented by an anonymous

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donor. Every possible precaution was taken to guard against surprise and to cope with any attempted landing.

As has been told, the extension of German submarine warfare led to the determination of the Imperial Government in 1917 to strengthen the defences of the West Indian ports. A fleet of naval motor launches arrived in West Indian waters, two of which were allotted to Barbados. Naval 4·7 guns were erected on emplacements on heights commanding Bridgetown and its approaches, and were manned by gunners of the Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry, assisted by men of the Volunteer Force. These arrangements were more up to date than any previously in force in the colony and the defence scheme was amended to fit in with the altered conditions.

On the inauguration of the West Indian Naval Patrol, auxiliary vessels were asked for by the Admiralty. At Barbados the only available vessels were the water-boats *Lady Hay* and *Ida*. The former was accepted, and after being suitably strengthened and armed was commissioned and remained in naval service until the war ended, when she was restored to the Colonial Government. The Government having been advised that the port should be concealed at night as far as possible, lights were no longer exhibited on the lighthouses at South Point and Needham's Point, ships at anchor in Carlisle Bay showed no light, harbour and shore lights visible from sea were no longer lit, street and wharf lights were reduced, and Allied and neutral vessels were only permitted to enter the port by daylight. Three times weekly, by the *Lady Hay* and occasionally by the *Ida*, under the command and supervision of naval officers, mine sweeping in Carlisle Bay and outside its waters was systematically carried out, but no mines were found. Rear-Admiral C. H. Simpson, Commodore of the West Indian Patrols, and the officers and men under him, and also Colonel J. R. H. Homfray, R.M.A., and the gunners and men of the Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry received the thanks of the Government of Barbados for their services. The moral effect had been far-reaching and had brought home to Barbadians the reality and closeness of the protection afforded by the British Navy.

Just before the war a few members of the Volunteer Force

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had formed a 'wireless club' and had been experimenting with wireless telegraphy on their own account. They obtained permission to erect their apparatus at the foot of the watch tower at the garrison with a small aerial on the top of the tower. Subsequently, with the help of the hospital authorities, the agents of the Booth Steamship Company and the Electric Supply Corporation, who furnished power gratis and a mast 70 feet high, the apparatus was so extended as to receive messages from a distance of 200 miles, as far as Trinidad. The value of the service being recognized, a vote was passed by the Legislature for the purchase of an efficient transmitting plant, and to compensate the workers who were earning their living in public offices and elsewhere. The wireless station so founded and equipped continued in operation throughout the war, there is no doubt that its existence increased the feeling of security in the colony, and thanks are undoubtedly due to the energetic young men who established it.

At first it was thought that the active assistance of a small colony like Barbados would not be needed, and that all she might do would be to defend her own shores against possible sea raids. The development of the struggle and the magnitude of the crisis, however, and the example of the tremendous exertions of the larger Dominions and colonies soon made it evident that local defence, though good in itself, would not be enough. The youth of Barbados began to chafe under inaction. The Press of the island encouraged this feeling and within a short time it became manifest that a more active policy would have to be pursued. Even from the first, a colony possessing the record of Barbados had not been content to remain entirely on the defensive. Many young men of military age and possessing the means to do so had proceeded to the United Kingdom and Canada and had enlisted in British and Canadian regiments. In 1915, a patriotic association known as the 'Citizens' Contingent Committee' was formed, whose object was to provide funds to defray the expenses of equipment and transport for such of the youth of the colony as were desirous of joining up but were without the means to enable them to do so. Most of those who availed themselves of the opportunity of service thus afforded were of a class likely to obtain commissions in the

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British Army, and as a matter of fact an appreciable number did so.

Up to the early part of the year 1915, therefore, the effort of the colony may be fairly regarded as individual rather than representative. But about the middle of that year there occurred a change which caused future action more nearly to resemble in character what, in larger countries, would be described as 'national'. It was recognized that what had been done was good, but was not good enough. The feeling was widely expressed that, however well-intentioned and however well-executed individual action and private effort might be, they were not sufficient. A desire to assist became very manifest on the part of the coloured population. They had hitherto been debarred either by reason of distance from the scene of action or from other causes from enlistment in British regiments. They were no longer content to remain inactive and views to this effect were becoming of frequent expression in the West Indian Press. The Government were quick to recognize the state of public opinion and steps were taken to afford an opportunity to any man of military age in the colony, whose physical fitness coincided with his desire, to give active service to the Empire.

The wish to help was shared by every British West Indian colony and resulted in the formation of the British West Indies Regiment. In August 1915 a Barbados Recruiting Committee was appointed, recruiting meetings were held in quick succession, and soon more than 2,000 men of the working classes were enrolled, a number far in excess of the quota which it had been agreed should be furnished by Barbados. The enrolment of so large a number allowed of a careful selection being made, and this task was cheerfully and gratuitously performed by the medical men of the colony. The military training of the men was undertaken by retired sergeants of the West India Regiment. It was excellent of its kind, but time did not permit of the training being as thorough as was desired, although the men proved to be keen and willing to learn. A similar good disposition was shown by young men of the better class who put themselves under training to become eventually junior officers in the newly formed regiment. Many of these young men were either officers in the Volunteer Force or had been members

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of the Cadet Corps of their respective schools—another proof, if proof were needed, of the practical value of these corps. Eventually, a total of 811 non-commissioned officers and men of other ranks with 20 officers crossed the seas to become members of the Barbados contingent of the British West Indies Regiment. Consequent on their lack of training they were not always used on combatant service, but were largely employed on labour duty, and the last contingent was actually recruited as a labour and not as a combatant battalion. Repeated acknowledgements of the value of their services were received by the Government from their commanding officers. Of the men in the 1st and 2nd battalions, who fought in Palestine, Lieut.-Colonel Wood-Hill, their Commanding Officer, wrote as follows to the Governor of Barbados :

'You will be glad to learn that the 1st and 2nd Battalions took part in the recent operations in Palestine and acquitted themselves most splendidly. . . . These men have been marching and fighting incessantly for five days and have covered 70 miles, climbing 4,500 feet in height, after six weeks in the Jordan Valley. . . . I feel certain that the relatives of the N.C.O.'s and men will be proud to hear that their men have done so well.'

With regard to Barbadians' work as labourers, the following quotation is of interest :

'I have the honour to report that 397 non-commissioned Officers and men are serving with this force (The Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force).

'They are employed in the following capacities :

Motor-boat drivers	101
Guards	81
Clerks	71
Carpenters	23
Camp police	16
Blacksmiths	12
Fitters	11
Telephone operators	6
Miscellaneous	76

'These non-commissioned officers and men have been of great value to the force : they have performed their duties to my entire satisfaction. . . . They have been especially welcome as representatives of such a distant portion of the Empire.

(Signed) F. S. MAUDE,
Lt.-General.'

The number of Barbadians in the contingent who died on

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active service was 67. Among Barbadians in other units of the British Army the death-roll was 70. Many Barbadians also served in the British Navy or the Mercantile Marine, and not a few lost their lives through submarines.

The honours gained by Barbadians in the British West Indies Regiment were 1 D.C.M. and 1 M.M., and among other units 5 M.C., 1 D.C.M., and 2 M.M., making a total of 11 military distinctions.

Barbados incurred considerable expense in connexion with the internment of enemy subjects not resident in the island and therefore not, strictly speaking, a charge upon its revenues. From the earliest period of the war enemy subjects of military age were continually being discovered on ships calling at Bridgetown, and were brought to shore for safe keeping. Their number soon made it necessary to establish a central place for their internment, and over 80, mostly of the seaman class, were interned at the expense of the Colonial Government. They were at first placed in the neighbourhood of the Government Industrial School, about 10 miles from town, but owing to their refractory behaviour were subsequently removed to a compound within the walls of Glendairy Prison—but quite separate from the ordinary gaol—where supervision could be more efficiently exercised. Eighteen were subsequently transferred to a large internment camp in Trinidad, where they were maintained at the expense of Barbados. Sixty-two remained in Barbados, of whom one was liberated and two died. Several attempts to escape were made but without success, and finally after four years, at their own request, arrangements were made with the Government of Canada to have them transferred to that country. They were shipped under guard from Barbados in September 1918, and were interned at Amherst, Nova Scotia, where they were maintained still at the expense of Barbados.

Almost in the first days of the war, the Government of Barbados made an offer to the Imperial Government of a gift of £20,000 in either money or sugar. The Governor's telegram, which was sent on the 25th of August 1914, was to the effect that the House of Assembly desired that £20,000 from the Colonial Treasury should be granted to His Majesty's Government 'as a gladly offered contribution to the expense of the righteous war now being waged by the Mother Country,

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and as a symbol of loyalty and attachment'. The offer was accepted in the form of sugar and over 1,000 tons were sent to England. In each succeeding year the sum of £20,000 was voluntarily contributed, and these contributions finally amounted to a total of £80,000, making a total amount voted by the Island Legislature to the Imperial Government for War purposes of £100,000, of which £80,000 was given in cash and £20,000 in sugar.

In the collection of funds for the various war charities, all classes of the community were active in various ways, and appeals were continuously launched under both Government and private patronage.

Among the most prominent charities were the following:

The Barbados Motor Ambulance Fund, which was started by Mr. F. A. C. Collymore (afterwards M.B.E.) in the early days of the war, and was maintained with praiseworthy regularity until after the Armistice. The total amount subscribed to this fund was £8,187 16s. 0d.
The Prince of Wales's Relief Fund, which reached £4,335.
The Belgian Relief Fund, £3,240.
Queen Mary's Fund (Lady Probyn, O.B.E.) in addition to many garments, £1,967.
The Star and Garter Fund, collected by the women of Barbados, £2,250.
The British Red Cross Fund, £3,064.
The French Red Cross Fund, and
The Belgian Red Cross Fund.

In 1918 a special appeal was made on behalf of King George's Fund for Sailors. The colony realizing to the full that its very existence depended solely on the efforts and achievements of the Royal Navy and the British Mercantile Marine, responded heartily, and there was remitted to England a sum exceeding £6,000. Smaller sums were collected for such good objects as Lord Roberts's Memorial Fund and St. Dunstan's Hospital for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors; and bodies like the Girls' Industrial Union, the Girls' Friendly Society, and the War Workers' Lunch Room, in addition to the principal schools in the island, were continuously at work raising money for various charitable purposes. Large quantities of surgical dressings and similar articles were prepared by well-organized groups of lady workers throughout the island, and were in the main sent to French hospitals. The total amount subscribed to war charities, exclusive of government grants, was between £28,000 and £30,000.

At the close of the financial year 1913–14 the Government of Barbados had a credit balance of close upon £50,000. Con-

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sequent on the increase of expenditure caused by the voluntary contributions of the Government, by obligations in connexion with the British West Indies Regiment, and by additions to and improvements of local defence, it became necessary to provide additional revenue. The Legislature therefore passed in 1915 an Act imposing an export tax on sugar and molasses; later a Stamp Act was passed, and as a final measure a Postal Surtax Act. The proceeds of these Acts were specially earmarked for war expenditure and were not paid into the Treasury as part of the general revenue of the colony.

War expenditure, however, continued to grow. In addition to charges for the Barbadian contingent and the annual contributions to the Imperial Government, money was needed for the wireless station, for the maintenance of interned prisoners, for payment of colonial allowances to officers and men of the Royal Marine Artillery, Royal Marine Light Infantry, and His Majesty's Patrol Boats, and finally to provide a war bonus to assist junior members of the civil service in meeting the increased cost of living. The Export Tax, or Produce Tax, as it was afterwards styled, was therefore gradually increased. Originally fixed at 2*s.* 6*d.* per ton on crystal sugar, 1*s.* 8*d.* on muscovado sugar, and 10*d.* per 100 gallons on molasses in 1915, the duties were gradually advanced until in 1918 they amounted to £1 per ton on sugar and 6*s.* 8*d.* per 100 gallons on molasses. By these means the colony was enabled to meet its war expenditure.

But the normal expenditure had also largely increased, while no steps had been taken to augment general revenue. The higher cost of supplies of all kinds required for Government institutions accounted for the increased expenditure, the Treasury credit balance had virtually disappeared, and the draft estimates for 1918–19 disclosed a probable deficit of £70,000. The position was serious and the Legislature unanimously passed an address to the Governor recommending the imposition of a graduated Income Tax. This tax, it was proposed, should take the place of the Produce Tax which had been criticized as affecting the planter class only, whilst merchants and others who had benefited during the war were not affected by it. It was further recommended that the proceeds of the Income Tax should be paid directly

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into general revenue and not be earmarked for war expenditure.

However, as the year progressed, the clouds to a certain extent cleared away. Both import and export duties were found to exceed the estimates, and a revision of the latter in October 1918 showed that the anticipated deficit of £70,000 would be reduced to £40,000. Thereupon, the House of Assembly took the opportunity to drop the proposed Income Tax and decided to renew the Produce Tax for the calendar year 1919, the proceeds of which, however, were not to be earmarked for war expenditure but were to be paid directly into general revenue. As an additional means of augmenting revenue an Act was passed imposing a special tax on traders, which it was estimated would produce £15,000. This sum, with £80,000 estimated as the probable return of the Produce Tax Act and the smaller amounts to be yielded by the Stamp Act and the Postal Surtax Act, would, it was expected, be sufficient to meet the current and outstanding expenditure.

The sugar crops of the years 1917, 1918, and 1919 nearly approached records in quantity and realized high prices. There had been in 1914, before the war, a severe drought, but subsequently a series of good crops and high prices brought greater wealth and prosperity to the owners of sugar estates and factories than ever before. A conservative estimate placed the excess gain over normal years to the producers of sugar and molasses at an average of between £500,000 and £600,000 for each year of the war. The planters urged with some justification that the sugar-cane grower was only receiving due compensation for the many lean years before the war when, owing mainly to German given bounties to growers of beet-sugar, they had struggled with adversity. The demand for sugar necessitated the provision of shipping for its export; thus the merchants were afforded an opportunity to import goods in considerable quantities, if not in pre-war profusion, and without doubt also largely benefited by the war. There was some profiteering, though not to a very great extent, and in 1917 it was found necessary to appoint a foodstuffs committee to regulate the import and export of provisions and essential commodities. This committee, with the assistance of Sir W. K. Chandler, C.M.G.,

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Food Price Controller, did very useful work. The prosperity of the planting and mercantile classes and the great increase of wealth in individual cases did not extend to the whole community. Increased cost of necessaries pressed hard upon the majority—the salaried as well as the labouring classes. The war bonus did something to alleviate the condition of junior officials. Estate workers received from the majority of owners increased wages varying between 25 and 50 per cent. But between August 1914 and August 1918 the prices of essentials, such as foodstuffs and calicoes, had risen to the extent of 100 per cent. in the former and 400 per cent. in the latter case. Thus the increase in wages was not sufficient to meet the increased cost of living and the position of the labourer became very difficult. Accordingly, in regard to food supplies, a Vegetable Produce Act was passed in 1917, which made it compulsory on owners, under the directions of a specially appointed committee, to plant a certain acreage of each plantation in vegetables, corn, and roots, locally known as ground provisions. In that year much uneasiness was felt lest the entrance of the United States into the war should seriously curtail the quantity of provisions which that country had hitherto exported to the West Indies. Opportune arrangements were, however, made whereby certain quantities of the much-needed commodities, calculated on consumption of previous years, were allowed to be exported. Subsequently the Dominion of Canada made a similar arrangement, and thus a crisis was averted. At no time, according to the report of the Chamber of Commerce, was there an actual state of 'famine'. For those who could afford to pay the higher prices, essentials and even luxuries were always obtainable, and the necessity for rationing the population did not arise. To the great credit of all classes, both governing and governed, the years of war passed smoothly, and in spite of the density of the population in proportion to the area the tranquillity of this ancient and loyal community was never disturbed by industrial unrest or internal uprising.

On each anniversary of the declaration of war the House of Assembly held a special meeting to pass a resolution expressing the determination of the colony to do everything in its power to assist in carrying the war to a successful issue. On each occasion patriotic speeches were delivered, and the

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terms of the resolution were telegraphed forthwith to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

On the fourth anniversary, the Legislature not being at the moment in session, a special public demonstration took place on the Garrison Savannah. Stirring speeches were made by the Acting Governor and other leading members of the community. The Defence Force was paraded and the massed choirs of the Cathedral and Churches of Bridgetown, accompanied by the Police Band, sang hymns in which the crowd on the ground enthusiastically joined. The inspiring words of the Prime Minister's message with its keynote 'Hold Fast' were read aloud. No one could guess at the time that the end was so near, but the hopeful tone of this famous message with its promise of success in the near future filled the attending thousands with joy.

The Armistice was celebrated in Barbados with demonstrations that surpassed anything of the kind of which there is any record in the history of the island. The city of Bridgetown was decorated by day and illuminated by night; and there was a grand parade of the Defence Force and of the naval and marine contingents on service in Barbados. Two days' holiday was given throughout the island, and employers of labour were appealed to by the Governor to pay their employees in full for the two days—an appeal which, it is pleasing to add, met with ready acquiescence. The Savannah was thrown open to the public, and finally the rejoicings were concluded by a torchlight procession. Throughout the week during which the rejoicings practically lasted the people were orderly and well behaved and there was a marked absence of drunkenness. Everywhere was apparent a sense of deep thankfulness for the triumph of right and justice and a feeling of relief at the escape of the world and the Empire from a tragic period of peril and bloodshed. An elderly coloured woman was heard to exclaim: 'I never see such happiness come to Barbados ever since it was a world.'

Early in 1919 the Barbadian contingents of the British West Indies Regiment began to return. The men were received by guards of honour and, preceded by the band of the police, were marched through cheering crowds and streets decorated in their honour to the Savannah, where they were addressed by the Governor and the Bishop of the Diocese

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and entertained to dinner before being paid off and dismissed to their homes. The enthusiasm of the crowds cannot be adequately described.

The peace celebrations were not less sincere, if perhaps, as in England, less demonstrative. Services were held in all the churches. A grand parade of all units—returned soldiers, volunteers, reserves, police, and cadets—was held on the Savannah, and at this parade the Girl Guides of Barbados, who took part, made their first public appearance. A special feature of the celebration was the entertainment of the school children of the island, while the poor and unfortunate were not forgotten. The occasion was felt to be one not for shouting and wild enthusiasm, but rather for deep thankfulness, and this feeling pervaded all classes.

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SECTION IV

THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

THE Leeward Islands colony, with a total area of nearly the size of Berkshire and a total population of rather over 130,000, is a federal colony. The constituent parts are five Presidencies: Antigua, of which Barbuda and the phosphate island of Redonda are dependencies; St. Kitts-Nevis and Anguilla; Montserrat; Dominica; and the Virgin Islands. Antigua is, next to Barbados, the most purely British in history and tradition of all the West Indian Islands. French and English are reputed to have landed in St. Kitts on the same day and shared the Island until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 gave the whole to Great Britain. Dominica, by far the largest island in the colony, was a much disputed possession as between Great Britain and France; it bears a stronger French than British impress and lies between the two French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Sugar is the staple product of Antigua and St. Kitts, Sea Island cotton and limes of Monserrat, cotton of Nevis, Anguilla, Barbuda, and the Virgin Islands, limes and cocoa of Dominica.

In past times the Leeward Islands shared in the self-governing institutions common in the British West Indies, and there is still an elective element in the federal legislative council. The members of the legislative councils in the presidencies, with the exception of the Virgin Islands, which has no legislative council, are all nominated. The head-quarters of the federal administration are at Antigua. When the war began, the Governor was Sir H. J. Hesketh Bell, K.C.M.G., who had come from the government of Northern Nigeria and had, in former years, as Administrator of Dominica and acting Governor of the group, known the colony well. He was appointed Governor of Mauritius in January 1916, and in the absence of his successor, Sir Edward Merewether, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., who had been Governor of Sierra Leone, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. T. A. Vans Best, C.M.G., C.B.E., administered the government. In addition to the Governor, who resides at Antigua, there are Administrators in St. Kitts-Nevis and Dominica, and Commissioners in Montserrat and the Virgin Islands.[1]

[1] In what follows the editor is indebted as regards Antigua to full material supplied by Mr. F. H. Watkins, I.S.O., late Acting Colonial Secretary of the

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On the 6th of August 1914 martial law was proclaimed throughout the colony. Already, in the words of the annual report, it was 'organized for defence as far as circumstances permitted'. Defence was no easy matter, as the colony is composed of many widely sundered small island units, but the steps to be taken in case of war had been for this, as for all parts of the Empire, thought out beforehand.

In Antigua a Defence Force Act of 1912 provided for a Defence Force consisting of companies of infantry and mounted infantry. Under the Act all males between the ages of 18 and 45, having an income of not less than £50 per annum, were made liable to service, but the compulsory service sections could only be brought into operation if the total numbers of the force fell below 200 or if out of this total the mounted men, exclusive of officers, were less than 50. Provision was also made for a Defence Reserve. On the 4th of August the 'Actual Service' sections of the Act were proclaimed and brought into operation, and the Defence Force was concentrated for a special course of training in carrying out the scheme of defence. No special call for volunteers was made, but the numbers were increased by enrolling the Defence Reserve Corps as a company of the Defence Force, as provided by the law, and the armed division of the Leeward Islands police in Antigua was also included in the local forces available for defence. Pickets were posted at various points, and sea look-outs, trenches were dug and, in general, preparations were made to resist a landing by the enemy. Similar precautions were taken in the other presidencies, wherever there was any possible nucleus for armed defence. In St. Kitts-Nevis the Defence Force was increased without difficulty, in spite of some attempts to create disaffection among the lower classes, and a cadet corps was enrolled. At a later date the Defence Force in this presidency fell off in numbers and efficiency, and in 1917 it was reorganized.

In Dominica there had been no military force in existence since the disbanding in 1864 of the Royal St. George's Militia, which had greatly distinguished itself in 1805 when a French expedition attempted to take the island. To quell any internal

Leeward Islands; as regards St. Kitts-Nevis, to notes by the Administrator, Major J. A. Burdon, C.M.G.; and as regards Dominica, to a most exhaustive account of the island during the war compiled by the Senior Medical Officer, Dr. H. A. Alford Nicholls, C.M.G., M.D.

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disturbance the government relied on the Police Force, which is an armed semi-military body and whose officers are ex-military men, but it was too small a force to resist successfully any raid by an armed enemy vessel, and the so-called Defence Reserve Force, which had been established a few years before the war, was practically only a gun club. On the 30th July, however, the Administrator, Mr. Drayton, by proclamation converted the Dominica Defence Reserve into a company of a Dominica Defence Force, which by recruiting was considerably increased in numbers, and was placed under the command of Captain H. Peebles—subsequently Major Peebles, D.S.O., R.A.S.C., who was succeeded by Captain Randell. The force was mounted and was at once put under vigorous training. It was considered that the whole of the Defence Forces, which included the Police, would be able to repel any attempted landing, and they certainly restrained any signs of internal unrest. On the 4th August the Defence Force was called out for active service. Armed guards were placed at the Colonial Bank, the Telegraph Cable Office and both cable ends, and a retiring base was established at Long Ditton—a place in a somewhat inaccessible position in the hills about four miles from Roseau, where sheds were built and stocked with food in the event of the town being shelled by an enemy vessel, for news had come by telegram that the *Karlsruhe* and other German cruisers were in West Indian waters and had sunk a number of merchant ships. Look-outs were kept and arrangements made to apprise head-quarters of any approach of a suspicious vessel, and motor cars were apportioned to take families rapidly from the town in case of need. On the 6th August an extraordinary meeting of the Legislative Council was held at which the members were informed of the declaration of war, and asked for a vote of £500 ' as a credit for any necessary expenses incurred by the government in the measures taken for the defence of the island '. The vote was passed unanimously and a resolution was adopted expressive of ' devoted loyalty to His Majesty's throne and person ' and affirming that Dominica ' will endeavour to bear its share, however humble it may be, in the righteous war as becomes British subjects '.

Towards the middle of October Sir H. Hesketh Bell, the Governor, visited Dominica and issued a proclamation, in which it was ordered that in the event of a raid by an enemy

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vessel, 'the whole population of Roseau shall at once leave the town. Any one found in Roseau half an hour after the sounding of the alarm will be considered to have disobeyed the Governor's orders and will be dealt with under martial law. It will not be necessary for the people to flee to distant places; any spot two miles inland will, in all probability, be perfectly safe. The defence of Roseau will be left in the hands of the Defence and Police Forces and every reasonable effort to oppose the landing of the enemy will be made.' As there was only one German, a planter, resident in the island—who was at once placed under surveillance—there was no trouble from spies or enemy propaganda. Germans were taken off a steamer and off a whaler touching at Dominica, but they were transferred under guard to the neighbouring colony of St. Lucia.

At a later date, on the 9th July 1917, a Defence of the Presidency Ordinance was put into force. It had been passed by the Legislature in the previous month on the lines of the Defence of the Realm Act of Great Britain; and it made provision for the issuing by the Governor in Council of regulations which hitherto had been promulgated under martial law. On the 9th September 1917 a shore defence Q.-F. gun was landed, having been sent to protect the town and port of Roseau from enemy raiders. Under directions of Mr. P. Noble, the Colonial Engineer, it was mounted on a bluff 300 feet above sea level overlooking the town and the country to the north and south, and the lands in the vicinity were declared a military area and closed to the public. A skeleton gun crew from the Royal Marine Light Infantry was sent to the island by the Admiral on the station, twelve men of the Defence Force were detailed to complete the crew and Captain Harry Walker of that force was put in command. By the 14th October all arrangements for working the gun were completed, and the townspeople experienced a sense of security that had been absent since the opening of the war.

The Dominica Defence Force was eventually demobilized on the 25th of January 1919.

In Antigua a good response, on the whole, was given to the first appeal for volunteers for enlistment for service abroad, and none but a good class of men was selected. Four drafts in all for the British West Indies Regiment were called for and were filled, except as regards the last draft, when Dominica had to be called on to complete the Antigua quota. The

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response for recruits came mainly from the black labouring classes. The better class of coloured young men, as a whole, did not make a creditable figure in this respect. The upper class of white young men in the community, with few exceptions, set a good example in volunteering. The four drafts made up 6 officers and 104 rank and file.

In St. Kitts, owing to lack of means, few young men were able to join the fighting forces, except through the British West Indies Regiment. Nearly all, however, who were able to go at their own expense, did so, and a considerable number who, at the time of the outbreak of war, were employed outside their own islands, joined the Army. Great enthusiasm was shown in coming forward for the first contingent of the regiment, but, owing to delays in enlistment and other unavoidable causes of discouragement, the enthusiasm was not sustained for subsequent drafts. A number of would-be recruits were debarred by illiteracy or by physical disabilities. It was found impossible to raise the full draft required at the beginning of 1917, but a system of bounties had some effect on subsequent enlistments.

In Dominica, at the beginning of the war, Major Peebles applied for permission to raise troops in the Leeward Islands for service at the front, and in the hope that such a force would be formed many persons in Dominica volunteered to join it. The necessary permission was not granted at the time, and in the absence of a contingent a large proportion of the Englishmen who had settled in Dominica made their way to England and joined up in various units. When subsequently recruits were invited for the British West Indies Regiment, Dominica agreed to pay separation allowances to the soldiers' dependants, and also pensions or gratuities in lieu of pensions to the men who were recruited from the island. The enlistments were abundant from the labouring classes, but the more educated classes held aloof so that the volunteers came almost entirely from one section of the population. In reference to this matter, on the 28th August 1915, Administrator Mahaffy, who had succeeded Mr. Drayton, said in an address to the Legislative Council: 'The answer to the call for recruits has been satisfactory as regards the working classes in Dominica, who have offered themselves in considerable numbers, and who will shortly be leaving to play their part in the tremendous struggle which we watch with confidence and with hope. I wish that the more educated classes of our creole population had shown a corre-

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sponding spirit. I regret that this has not been so. The reason for this reluctance I cannot understand, for it cannot be that this class fails to appreciate, as do their less fortunate neighbours, the gravity of the issue or the urgency of the call.' The Legislature passed a resolution affirming that 'it gladly embraces the opportunity of showing its loyalty by undertaking to provide the funds that may be necessary to enable the Presidency to take its part in the defence of the Empire'. The first detachment of the Dominica recruits left early in October 1915 and three more drafts were sent before the end of 1917. In Dominica alone of all the Presidencies no recruiting meetings were necessary and over 700 men of the labouring classes freely volunteered, with the result that Dominica not only sent her own quota of soldiers, but made good the shortage of recruits from Antigua and St. Kitts. The last Leeward Islands contingent was housed in the old military barracks at Morne Bruce prior to embarkation at Roseau.

In all, the Leeward Islands supplied four contingents to the British West Indies Regiment, amounting to 347 Officers and men. They contributed, in the Governor's words, 'a serviceable contingent', but the number did not testify to alacrity for overseas service, and Dominica excelled the other Presidencies in this form of patriotism.[1]

In view of the slender resources, both public and private, of the Leeward Islands, the contributions to war and charitable funds were generous. The Legislative Council of Antigua gave £1,000 to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. In September 1914 the St. Kitts-Nevis Legislature voted £5,000 to the Home Government, which was applied to the National Relief Fund, and in February 1918 £2,000 to provide an aeroplane bearing the name of St. Christopher. The Montserrat Legislative Council in September and October 1914 voted £1,000 for the National Relief Fund and a further sum of £250 for the local purchase of guava jelly for the troops. On the 7th of September 1914 the Executive Council of Dominica placed on record their unanimous opinion that 'should circumstances demand it, this island should contribute to the Imperial war funds to the utmost limit of its capacity, in other words, that, if necessary, the whole of the surplus assets, as well as other funds to be

[1] The editor has found it impossible to reconcile the figures with regard to this Colony: in any case the numbers were very inadequate.

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obtained by special taxation, be offered to His Majesty's Government', and at a meeting of the Dominica Legislative Council on the 7th October the sum of £4,000 was voted from surplus funds to His Majesty's Government as a contribution towards the expenses of the war, while the sum of £1,000 was also voted for the relief of the distressed Belgians. Several members of the Council expressed the hope that the £4,000 would be devoted to the service of the Royal Flying Corps, and, in thanking the Legislature for the gift, the Secretary of State said that the money would be expended in providing an armed aeroplane for each of the marine and military branches of the air service. A 100 H.P. Gnome Vickers gun biplane was built, named Dominica and sent to the front, and it did long and excellent work in France until at last it was shot down. Dominica claims to have been the first colony to present fighting aeroplanes to the forces. A little later the patriotic resolution of the Executive Council was put into effect. Early in 1916 some of the leading colonists came to the conclusion that Dominica should do more than she had done, and it was considered best to raise in the island by special taxation a sum of money to be given to His Majesty's Government for use in the prosecution of the war. A Bill to that effect was introduced into the Legislative Council, there was some opposition on the part of members of the mercantile community, but finally an Ordinance was passed 'to provide the sum of ten thousand pounds as a gift to His Majesty's Government to be applied as may be decided on by them in prosecution of the war in which the Empire is engaged'. Afterwards a halfpenny war stamp was issued to be used in postage to all places in the British Empire.

The total contributions from the three larger Presidencies, including the Government grants, were as follows:

ANTIGUA

Contributions to War Funds

	£	s.	d.
Grant by Legislative Council of Antigua to Order of St. John of Jerusalem	1,000	0	0
British Red Cross Fund	2,362	1	10
Belgian Relief Fund	807	1	9
Prince of Wales's Fund	537	1	10
Fund for the relief of Prisoners of War in Germany	47	1	2
Aircraft Fund	20	0	0
French Red Cross	15	0	0
	4,788	6	7

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ST. KITTS-NEVIS

	£	s.	d.
From the Government surplus funds in September 1914 to H.M. Government for use in connexion with the war (afterwards allocated to Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund)	5,000	0	0
From the Government surplus funds in February 1918 to H.M. Government for the purchase of an aeroplane through Overseas Club	2,000	0	0
The British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England	1,143	14	3
Belgian Relief Fund	562	14	0
Overseas Aircraft Fund	67	17	0
Royal Army Medical Corps Benevolent Fund	4	8	6
Belgian Order of St. John of Jerusalem	46	9	10
Royal Flying Corps Fund	56	0	0
2,000 bags for wounded soldiers			
Lady Smith-Dorrien's Hospital Bag Fund	10	2	0
French Red Cross, about	100	0	0
Lady Jellicoe's Fund for Widows and Orphans of men in the Navy and Mercantile Marine	47	0	0
West Indian Contingent Fund	451	18	6
	9,490	4	1 [1]

DOMINICA

Summary of War Contributions towards War Charities

1914–19

British Red Cross Society	956	16	5
Belgian Relief Fund [2]	2,257	2	0
Queen Mary's Needlework Guild	256	9	3
Prince of Wales's Fund	50	0	0
Princess Mary's Christmas Fund	47	10	0
West Indian Contingent Fund	3	5	6
Queen Alexandra's Home for Blind and Crippled Soldiers and Sailors	194	8	1
Queen Mary's Hospital, Rochampton	200	0	0
Military and Air Services [3]	4,000	0	0
Gift by people of Dominica to H.M. Government	10,000	0	0
Balloon Fund, per Mrs. Shand	40	0	0
Lord Roberts's Memorial Fund	17	14	4
French Red Cross Society	98	4	1
Savoy Association for Relief of British Prisoners of War	12	10	0
Officers' Families Fund	8	15	0
West Indian Contingent Fund, per Mrs. Didier	28	5	6
King George's Fund for Sailors, per Miss Nicholls	176	0	0
	18,347	0	2

The totals subscribed in each of the three cases reflected the respective means of the three Presidencies, Antigua being not so rich as St. Kitts-Nevis or Dominica. In all three a good

[1] A later statement shows that the total subscriptions from this Presidency eventually amounted to £11,666.

[2] Includes Legislative Grant of £1,000.

[3] Is the Legislative Grant of £4,000

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response was made to Red Cross Appeals and in Dominica the cause of the Belgians was warmly supported. In this island a Belgian Relief Fund was started by the Rev. C. Bourchier, the Anglican Rector, and was enthusiastically supported by the Belgian Roman Catholic Bishop of Roseau and by his priests, many of whom are natives of Belgium. Subsequently, in answer to a special appeal from the National Committee for Relief in Belgium, a public meeting was called and other steps were taken to raise subscriptions. At the suggestion of the Administrator many public officers gave a day's pay every month for six months, and merchants and others also agreed to subscribe monthly. In this way a considerable sum of money was raised. In acknowledging the first remittance to London, Sir William Goode, the Secretary, said the members of the Committee were deeply touched by the 'self-sacrifice of those members of the Government service who have agreed to give one day's pay per month for the next six months to help the distressed Belgians'.

Dominica was generous in gifts in kind as well as in money. Towards the end of August 1914 Mr. John Eaden, one of the English settlers in the island, sent packages of lime fruit for the wounded in Netley Hospital, and in September the Dominica Agricultural and Commercial Society took over the matter and sent by every mail steamer considerable shipments of limes, oranges, and other fruit for the wounded sailors and soldiers in English hospitals. The fruit was given by the planters of the island, the necessary expenses were defrayed by voluntary subscriptions, and the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company carried the packages free of charge. The Secretary of the West India Committee in London, after a time, acted as receiving and distributing agent, and he forwarded to Dominica many letters showing that the fruit was gratefully received and enjoyed. These shipments were continued as long as the Royal Mail steamers kept up the link between Dominica and England and were stopped only when the service was discontinued. Later on the Curator of the Botanical Gardens and Mr. Ralph Nicholls and Mr. John MacIntyre sent similar shipments by occasional freight steamers of the Direct Line.

The total contributions from Montserrat, including the Government grants already mentioned, amounted to £2,898, and from the Virgin Islands to £30.

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The war affected the different units of the colony in different ways, and the different stages of the war produced different results. The changes and chances which befall in peace, happen also and are accentuated in war-time, good or bad seasons, labour difficulties and the rest. On a small scale all these features were in evidence in the Leeward Islands. Speaking generally, the main staples were during the war in strong demand at high prices. Sugar was so profitable that in Montserrat sugar-growing, which had been superseded by cotton and limes, began to revive. Lime fruit was always in demand. Sea Island cotton at first was badly hit by the war, for the yarns spun from it had been largely used in Belgium and Northern France. The Fine Spinners' Association and the British Cotton Growing Association then came to the rescue, taking the whole of the 1915–16 crop, and in 1917 the British Government took for aeronautical purposes all the Sea Island cotton that could be grown.

Antigua is a sugar-growing island, subject to droughts. The war caused a serious shrinkage in imports and consequently in the Government revenue, but the value of the principal exports was largely increased. Difficulties in obtaining imported food and articles of household use resulted, as elsewhere, in a general rise in the cost of living, but in the prosperous years of 1916–17 the planters were able to meet, to a large extent, the demands of the labourers for higher wages. At the end of 1917 there came a severe drought, which meant less employment and failure of the local ground provisions which usually supplement the labourers' imported foodstuffs. These foodstuffs were meanwhile constantly increasing in price. Early in 1918, when it appeared likely that there would be fresh demands for increase in wages, especially to cane-cutters, a Planters' Association was formed, and it was resolved to enforce generally payment to the cutters by weight instead of by the line. The system of payment by weight was regarded with suspicion by the labourers on many estates, and strikes and intimidation followed, culminating in disturbances in St. John's on the 9th of March 1918 which had to be quelled by force of arms. A Commission had already been appointed to report what would be a fair wage to be paid to cane-cutters during the 1918 crop, and found that the only fair and equitable way of computing wages was by weight provided that the cane-

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cutters' interests were properly safeguarded. They felt, however, compelled by the circumstances to recommend for the 1918 crop payment by the line. These recommendations were at once accepted by planters and labourers, and the crop was taken off without interruption. In spite of labour troubles the people of the Presidency remained loyal to the Crown, and on the fourth anniversary of the entrance of the Empire into the war, at a patriotic meeting attended by several thousands of every class and colour, a resolution was enthusiastically passed expressing the unswerving determination of Antigua to do what lay in its power to continue the struggle to a successful issue. When the news of the signing of the Armistice arrived there was a spontaneous and universal outburst of loyalty.

Antigua, more than any other island of the Colony, is dependent for its food upon the outside world, importing 180 lb. of flour, cornmeal, peas and beans, and rice, per head of population as against 100 lb. per head in Dominica. The Agricultural Department shortly after the commencement of the war urged upon planters and peasants the necessity for planting quick-growing crops such as maize, sweet potatoes, and guinea corn. This advice was followed as far as possible, but the prolonged drought of 1917–18 rendered efforts to meet food requirements from local sources alone out of the question. One result of the appeal, however, was to direct attention to the possibilities of the development of a maize industry by co-operation between the Government and growers, and had it not been for the phenomenal profits gained by the cultivation of sugar and cotton, there is no doubt that this industry, which would always be assured of a market in the West Indies, would have made more progress. Until the end of 1917 imported foodstuffs arrived, irregularly but in quantities equal almost to those received in normal times, and, except in the matter of prices, no hardship could be alleged. Subsequently, as a result of the arrangement between the British and United States Governments with regard to food supplies, an adequate supply of flour, cornmeal, and other imported foods was, on the whole, satisfactorily maintained, which was of the utmost importance during the drought in the early months of 1918. Under the Defence of the Presidency Ordinance the prices of the chief articles of consumption were regulated by orders issued from time to time in accordance with the recommendations of

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a Prices of Foods Committee, and it may be confidently stated that the Presidency was spared the hardship and distress suffered by many other less fortunately situated countries.

The sugar manufactured by the Antigua factories was sold to the British Government. Muscovado sugar, in two favourable seasons 1916 and 1917, was so profitable as to enable the local owners to clear their estates of debt and effect improvements. A serious setback, however, was given by the drought of 1918, and, had not the phenomenally high prices continued, the situation would have been serious in the extreme. How greatly the war benefited the sugar industry can be gauged by the prices obtained in 1914 and 1919 : in the former year a ton of crystals was valued at £9 1*s.* 6*d.*, in 1919 the Government contract was for £26 17*s.* 6*d.*

In October 1917 the British Government found it necessary to acquire all the cotton produced in the Presidency. With a view to its purchase, the prohibition of its exportation was strictly enforced. The cotton offered for sale to the Government was bought, ginned, baled, and delivered at the port of shipment and the growers were relieved of all difficulties as to the provision of tonnage. The following scale of payment was fixed for the 1917–18 crop :

Ordinary	3/– per lb.
Good Ordinary	3/4 per lb.
Superfine	3/4 to 4/7 per lb.

The high prices obtained under this arrangement gave a great impetus to the cultivation of cotton in Antigua, as may be easily imagined, considering that the price for ordinary Sea Island cotton in 1914 was 1/3½ per lb.

Imports, and consequently receipts from import duties, sensibly declined, and the price of all articles obtained from abroad increased to such an extent that additional revenue could not be obtained by imposing extra taxation on such imports. Recourse was therefore had to export duties, and in 1915 by the Sugar and Molasses (Export Duty) Ordinance the following export duties were imposed :

On Crystals Sugar	8/4 a ton
On Muscovado	4/2 a ton
On Crystals Molasses	1/10 a puncheon
On Muscovado	2/– a puncheon

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The Ordinance was continued year by year until 1918, when export duties according to sliding scales were levied upon sugar and cotton. In addition to raising revenue on the export of the staple crops, an increase of ten per cent. on import duties was made payable under Ordinance No. 1 of 1918 upon alcoholic liquors imported into the Presidency.

In St. Kitts-Nevis the increase in the cost of living bore heavily upon the upper and middle classes. In the labouring classes it was mitigated by good crops and higher wages. Such hardships as arose were cheerfully borne, as was also the increased taxation. The war taxes came in the form of additional export duties on sugar and molasses, an export duty on cotton, 50 per cent. increases in port and harbour dues and land and house taxes under an emergency war tax ordinance, increase in customs duties and in the excise duty on rum. While these heavy taxes were being levied and paid, the islanders contributed liberally to ' Our Day ' for the Red Cross, and the island Government paid for the aeroplane ' St. Christopher '.

In Dominica, early in the war, as there were indications of profiteering in regard to imported food supplies, a Committee was appointed to keep watch over the prices of necessaries and did useful work throughout the war, a penalty of £5 being imposed on all persons selling food above the rates fixed by regulations under martial law. For the first two years of the war the island prospered, there were good crops, and the main products were considerably enhanced in value. The total value of the exports in 1915 amounted to £235,927, the public revenue for the financial year 1915–16 yielded £50,497, nearly £3,000 above the estimate, and the surplus assets stood at £18,839. In an address to the Legislative Council the Administrator said, ' So little has the world war affected us here in Dominica that it is hard for us to believe that on many fields and in almost every variety of climate our forces are fighting for the safety of the Empire '. Unfortunately this prosperity received a sudden set-back, for on the 8th August 1916 a severe hurricane passed over the island destroying a considerable part of the crops, causing a loss of 57 lives, wrecking many houses and estates' buildings, and causing much damage to roads and bridges. Lime cultivation is now the principal industry of Dominica, and the Superintendent of Agriculture estimated the loss of fruit alone at about 120,000 barrels. Sympathetic telegraphic

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messages and contributions of money and of food for the distressed people came from the neighbouring French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe, and His Majesty the King on the 2nd September cabled a message of sympathy. The Government and the people made no appeal for outside help but at once set to work to aid the sufferers, to repair the buildings and roads, and to restore the devastated cultivation. But the measures undertaken were necessarily costly and the prosperity of the island began to dwindle.

In March 1917 trouble was caused by a strike of boatmen, porters, and stevedores and much needed foodstuffs from New York were landed by men of the Defence Force and recruits in training for the British West Indies Regiment. The island Government, however, acted with promptness and vigour. An order was passed under martial law providing for the immediate punishment of any man refusing to assist in the unloading and porterage of cargo and there was no recurrence of the strike. Towards the end of 1917 an arrangement with the United States for the supply of foodstuffs was concluded, a Food Control Committee was appointed to carry out its terms, and Dominica received sufficient imported food supplies for economical use. Until this arrangement had been made, the imports of flour had become very small and infrequent, for a time there was no bread to be obtained, and in order to regulate the consumption the Government commandeered all imported flour. The decrease of tonnage in 1918 and the curtailment of steamship services gravely affected Dominica. Decreased imports resulted in shortage of revenue and owing to the increased prices of almost every commodity, coupled with the cost of the measures taken for the defence of the island, and of the Dominica contingents for the British West Indies Regiment, the expenditure exceeded the revenue raised by pre-war taxation. Accordingly a Bill was introduced to increase certain import and export duties and existing licences, and to impose fresh licences. There was opposition to the measure on the part of the merchants, but eventually the Bill was passed without division in the Legislative Council, and 'The War Emergency Taxation Ordinance, 1918' was put in force on the 27th February. It did not result, however, in raising anything like the extra amount of revenue expected, and the financial outlook became still more unsatisfactory when on the 15th April

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the United States Government placed an embargo on the importation of lime fruit. The shipments of limes from Dominica to New York then amounted in value to over £40,000 a year, and the loss to Dominica was calculated at over £31,000. At the end of September small shipments under licence were permitted, but they had little effect on the bulk of the trade. Accordingly the news of the Armistice came as a great relief to the whole population, and the 2nd and 3rd days of December were declared public holidays to commemorate the happy event.

When all allowance has been made, as it should be made, for the comparative poverty of the Leeward Islands, and the smallness of its component units, other than Dominica, it cannot be said that the war record of these islands, Dominica excepted, compares favourably with that of the other West Indian colonies, nor, on the other hand, were their war-time fortunes as bright. The numbers of the Leeward Islands contingent were smaller than they should have been, and it is disappointing to read that Antigua, with her peculiarly British tradition, could not make up her very small quota of soldiers without the help of Dominica, more French than British in the texture of the population.[1]

[1] The editor is responsible for the last paragraph.

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SECTION V

GRENADA[1]

GRENADA, lying under 70 miles south-west of St. Vincent, is the southernmost and smallest of the three Windward Islands. Including those of the Grenadine islets which are attached to the colony, the largest of which is Carriacou, it is still considerably smaller than the Isle of Wight. It is thickly populated, with over 500 inhabitants to the square mile. Its chief town, St. George's, a town of 5,000 people, lies towards the southern end of the western coast, on a fine but not very spacious harbour. Prior to the Seven Years War the island belonged to France, and a French patois is still to a considerable extent spoken by the peasantry, but it does not bear the marks of having been a French possession to the same extent as St. Lucia. It is a non-self-governing colony of the ordinary type, as are the sister islands also, and it is the residence of the Governor of the Windward Islands. When the war began the Governor was Sir James Hayes Sadler, K.C.M.G., C.B., who was succeeded upon retirement in December 1914 by Sir George B. Haddon Smith, K.C.M.G., previously Governor of the Bahamas.

Before the war volunteer ordinances had in 1900 and 1903 been passed in Grenada, and there was a small volunteer force for local defence. During the first year of the war some young men left the colony in order to enlist in the United Kingdom, and a strong feeling arose in favour of a Grenada contingent. Accordingly, early in 1915, the Governor informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies to this effect, and, in anticipation of the formal consent of the Imperial Government, notices were issued inviting men willing to serve in the event of a West Indian contingent being formed, to register their names. This invitation met with an immediate response, 245 names being registered in a month. In due course the local Government was informed that the formation of a 'British West Indies

[1] This account has been mainly compiled from notes supplied by the Grenada Government.

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Regiment ' was approved, permission was given to enlist men for service, and the first contingent from the colony, consisting of 150 men, embarked on the 19th September 1915. Subsequently, five more drafts were sent, making a total of 445 officers and men. Outside the ranks of the contingent, fifteen enlisted in other British units. Seven were killed in action, or died of wounds, thirty died from disease on Active Service, and the distinctions won were two Military Crosses, 1 Distinguished Flying Cross, 1 Distinguished Conduct Medal, 1 Meritorious Service Medal. In August 1917 a Military Service Ordinance was passed imposing on men of military age the liability to be called up for military service within or without the colony for the period of the war. This ordinance, however, was not put into operation.

A vote of £10,000 was passed by the Legislative Council on the 11th September 1914, of which £6,000, paid in 1915–16, was for the purchase of Grenada cocoa for the use of His Majesty's Forces in the war, and £4,000, paid in 1914–15, for the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund. By a resolution of the Council passed on the 9th August 1916, the colony accepted liability for allowances, pensions, and gratuities in respect of recruits sent from the colony, up to a maximum charge of £2,700 annually. The maintenance of drafts while in the colony and cost of transport to their destination was also defrayed by the local Government. These latter expenses amounted approximately in the year 1915–16 to £5,500, and in 1916–17 to £11,000, and up to the 31st of March 1919 the expenditure on account of the contingent from colonial funds had amounted to £33,633, making a total expenditure on war services of £43,635.

From time to time the public were invited to subscribe to various patriotic funds, the sums collected being paid into the Public Treasury and remitted to their proper destinations. The total amounted to £7,687 10*s.* 2*d.*, distributed as follows :

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Prince of Wales's Fund	1,250	0	0
Belgian Relief Fund	139	10	5
West Indian Contingent Fund . . .	228	0	9
Red Cross Society	6,069	19	0
Total . . .	7,687	10	2

These subscriptions include only sums which were forwarded

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through the Government. In addition many remittances were made privately by religious bodies and others, and at all times during the war the ladies of the colony, individually and in organized bodies, were indefatigable in the knitting of socks and the making of other articles for the use of the soldiers at the front. Considerable quantities of such articles were sent from the colony.

The outbreak of the war evoked spontaneous expressions of the loyalty of the people of Grenada, and addresses were passed by the Legislative Council and by all the municipal bodies. During the war the colony was free from the presence of enemy aliens, the only enemy subjects in the colony being a few Turkish subjects of Syrian race professing the Christian religion. It was well known that Christian Syrians were opposed to the Turkish régime and therefore those in the colony were not subjected to any special restrictions. There was practically no enemy property in Grenada.

For many years before the war Grenada had been one of the most prosperous of the West Indian colonies. It had not suffered from the great depression in the sugar industry which affected other islands, for its staple product is cocoa, grown largely by peasant proprietors. The war added to its prosperity. The high prices for cocoa, for nutmegs, another profitable product, and for the cotton grown in the island of Carriacou enriched the community. There was no scarcity of labour, no large labour supply being required when cocoa is an established cultivation, and increased cost of living was met by higher wages. After the war began the regular service with New York was suspended and the Government imported Canadian flour and fish from Nova Scotia, but the result of the war, taken as a whole, was to stimulate trade with America, owing to the inevitable restrictions on exports from the United Kingdom. Scarcity of imported foodstuffs was the main difficulty in this as in the other islands, but the inhabitants learnt to depend more than before upon home-grown provisions, and in the words of the annual report for 1918–19 the Grenadians 'had to bear no greater trials than were caused by a limited deprivation of the necessities of life'. Excise duties were somewhat raised, but the only special war taxes which were levied were an additional export duty on cocoa to meet the expenses of the Grenada contingent and a postal surtax of

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1*d.* on letters to places within the Empire. In 1915 the exports were a record in value, so they were again in 1916, when their value was 35 per cent. higher than in the year before the war. The revenue of 1916–17 for the first time in the history of the colony exceeded £100,000, and in August 1917 the colony was stated to be 'practically in a stronger financial and economic position than ever before'. The last year of the war was especially difficult for transport, but there was no substantial set-back in revenue or trade and in 1918–19 the trade figures were larger than ever. The great excess of the value of exports over that of imports during the five years which covered the war is evidence of the soundness of the economic condition of Grenada. It was one of the British colonies which was prosperous when the war began and much richer when it ended.

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SECTION VI

ST. VINCENT[1]

ST. VINCENT, with the islets attached to it, is of much the same size as the Isle of Wight. It lies due west of Barbados, and west of south from its nearest neighbour, St. Lucia, which is little more than 20 miles distant. In 1914 its population was about 46,000, and the main products were Sea Island cotton and arrowroot, the cotton being largely used in the lace manufactories of Lille and Belgium. The chief town and port, with under 5,000 inhabitants, is Kingstown, at the south-west of the island. The Administrator at the beginning of the war was the Hon. Gideon Murray, who was in the middle of 1915 succeeded by Mr. R. Popham Lobb, C.M.G., previously Colonial Secretary of Bermuda. The Administrators of both St. Vincent and St. Lucia are subordinate to the Governor of the Windward Islands.

St. Vincent had suffered sorely from a hurricane in 1898 and an eruption of the Soufrière in 1902, but subsequently it recovered some measure of prosperity owing largely to the development of the cotton industry. That the island community were not wanting in patriotism, or unmindful of the German menace, was shown by a resolution passed in the Legislative Council in July 1909 on the motion of a leading unofficial member, the late Mr. Duncan McDonald, to the effect that the Legislature should vote annually and pay unconditionally into the Imperial Treasury 'an amount approximating to 1 per cent. of the revenue of the Colony as a contribution towards the Royal Navy'.

In 1914 the position in St. Vincent was similar to that in other small islands. There was a little volunteer defence force,

[1] This account has been almost entirely condensed from most exhaustive notes kindly supplied for the purpose of this book by Mr. F. W. Reeves, M.A. Cantab., Head Master of the Secondary School and Inspector of Schools in St. Vincent, and forwarded by the Governor of the Colony.

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which would have been chiefly useful in the case of internal disorder, there was a police force which received limited instruction in rifle practice, but there was no adequate provision for opposing the landing of an enemy. When, however, relics of the *Karlsruhe* were washed up on the coasts of the Windward Islands, some of them finding their way to the Public Library at Kingstown, and when the battle of the Falkland Islands had been followed by the destruction of the *Dresden*, fear of invasion or of hostile raids for the time passed away.

Anxiety was renewed towards the end of 1915, when German commerce raiders, such as the *Moewe* and the *Greif*, appeared in the mid-Atlantic, and when, as the year 1916 went on, the U-boats became increasingly active. Venezuela and other South American Republics harboured many German residents and spies ; they were potential bases for the enemy, comparatively near to the British West Indian Colonies, and consequently in 1917, as has been seen, motor launches, heavy guns, and gunners were sent out to the West Indies. One of the 4·7 quick-firing guns was in October 1917 mounted at St. Vincent on a carefully selected site, in charge of a non-commissioned officer and four qualified gunners, and twelve St. Vincent men were enlisted on terms similar to those of the original contingents for active service, to supplement the European gun crews, barracks being built near the gun and the area being placed under military control.

On the 21st of July 1915 a telegram was received from the Colonial Office embodying certain conditions for the formation of a single West Indian contingent. On the 24th July St. Vincent telegraphed, accepting the proposals in principle, but suggesting that acceptance should be limited to single men. By the 26th the names of 76 volunteers had been received, and by the 23rd August 190 offers of service from unmarried men of suitable age. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Legislative Council at its meeting of the 26th August 1915 :

'(1) That the Legislative Council of St. Vincent, having been notified of the acceptance by His Majesty's Government of the offer of a contingent from the British West Indies for active service, pledges itself to provide funds for the transport and, as far as may be necessary, the equipment of a detachment of

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50 men from this colony and such further drafts as may from time to time be raised in order to maintain the detachment at full strength.

(2) That this Council approves of the expenses of the St. Vincent detachment being defrayed from the proceeds of a loan to be raised locally under such conditions as the Secretary of State may approve.

(3) That this Council agrees to a vote of credit being taken forthwith for £800, and further that such fund shall be disbursed by the Administrator in such manner as he may deem necessary and expedient for the purposes of the St. Vincent detachment.

(4) That this Council pledges itself to contribute such proportion of the charges for separation allowances and pensions in respect to the St. Vincent portion of the West Indian contingent as may be decided by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.'

The first detachment, numbering 50 men, sailed on the 19th September 1915. Monthly drafts of five men to replace wastage were contemplated, and the first reinforcement was sent on the 14th November. A second contingent of 31 men left on the 1st December 1916, but was detained for some four months at Trinidad. A third of 93 men embarked in two parties on the 9th of June and 2nd of July 1917. On the latter date a fourth contingent of 38 men also sailed, and on the 23rd of November 1917 a fifth and last contingent numbering 84 men. Including natives of the island, who enlisted in other islands,[1] 538 St. Vincent men joined the British West Indies Regiment, and 54 served in other, especially Canadian, units. The number of those who were killed in action, or died of wounds, accidents, or disease, was 56. The honours included 1 D.S.O., 1 M.C., 2 D.C.M., and 1 M.M.

The expenditure of the Colony upon the first and second contingents amounted to £3,056, exclusive of separation allowances. It was represented to the Home Government that, owing to the depression in trade caused by the war and to extraordinary war expenditure, the colony was unable to defray the cost of conveying the second contingent from Trinidad to England. This charge and the entire cost of train-

[1] This accounts for the total being larger than that given on p. 335.

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ing, equipping, and transporting the remaining contingents to England were in consequence borne by Imperial Funds. The amount expended by the Home Government for the third, fourth, and fifth contingents was £5,439 4*s.* 4*d.*, exclusive of the cost of uniforms and boots which were supplied by the War Office. Exclusive of the contingents, the colonial expenditure upon war services from the beginning of the war to the 31st October 1918 was £1,021.

It was at first arranged that the colony would meet all the cost of separation allowances, pensions, and gratuities, but later the Army Council agreed to defray these charges for the third, fourth, and fifth contingents. The colony was therefore only liable in respect to the first and second contingents at an approximate expenditure in 1918 of £200 per annum. All claims for separation allowances were assessed in the colony by a Local Pensions Committee, consisting of the Treasurer and the Agricultural Superintendent.

On the 14th September 1914 the Legislative Council voted £1,000 from general revenue for the purchase of St. Vincent arrowroot as a gift to the mother country for the use of His Majesty's Forces, and a further £1,000 as a contribution to the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund. A committee was formed to invite gifts from the planters of arrowroot, and 274 barrels, in addition to the amount purchased by the Government, were eventually forwarded. Another Committee was organized and collected £400 as a public subscription to the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund. There was a proposal that every member of the community should pledge himself to give 3 per cent. of his income, however small, to this fund. It was felt that the distress which the fund was meant to relieve would not only be aggravated as the war continued, but would last for years after its conclusion, and should therefore be met by a recurrent subscription rather than a lump sum. It was also claimed that the plan would enable the poorest to subscribe and feel that he was able to contribute his mite towards the safety of the Empire. A meeting was held to consider the proposal but, after some discussion, the vote went in favour of a lump sum, with the result recorded above. Entertainments were organized during the whole period of the war, and the proceeds devoted to one or other of the various charitable funds.

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Over and above the contributions already mentioned the following sums were subscribed up to November 1918:

	£	s.	d.
Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund	21	15	4
West Indian Contingent Fund	382	3	0
Queen Alexandra Field Force Fund	200	0	0
Overseas Club	24	17	6
Various Funds	50	14	5
Halifax Relief Fund	253	15	8½
Belgian Refugees	228	12	0
Red Cross Fund	1,089	19	8
	2,251	17	7½

The readiness of the St. Vincent people to give is illustrated by an ordinance passed in 1918. An ordinance, already in existence, styled the Arrowroot New Market Fund Ordinance, imposed an export duty upon St. Vincent arrowroot, the proceeds of which were to be used in advertising the product in foreign markets, the money being placed at the disposal of a committee of management appointed by the St. Vincent Arrowroot Growers and Exporters Association. The ordinance of 1918 authorized grants from this fund of £100 to the Red Cross and the Halifax Disaster Relief respectively, and other grants to war charities at the discretion of the committee.

In addition to money contributions there were gifts in kind. In particular, following an example set by Trinidad, a society of over 50 in number, paying monthly subscriptions from 6*d.* upwards, was formed to provide surgical dressings and other articles of comfort for the wounded. It was managed by a committee of 14 ladies, the Treasurer being Mrs. J. G. Hazell, the Secretary Miss Turpin, and the Assistant Secretary Miss Muriel Richards. The first two shipments were sent to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, but subsequent shipments, forwarded in alternate months, were sent through Mr. G. F. Huggins, O.B.E., of Trinidad, to the Secretary of the West India Committee, who forwarded them to the British Red Cross Society.

At the outbreak of the war St. Vincent was suffering from economic depression, due to one or two bad years in its staple products. Insect pests had played havoc with the cotton industry, but drastic steps were being taken by the Agricultural Department and improvement was in sight. At this stage came the war and there was an immediate and steady decline in the cotton industry. As already stated, the markets for the

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Sea Island cotton, other than Great Britain, had been the invaded districts of France and Belgium, tonnage was not easily available even for an export already reduced by unfavourable weather and insect pests, the cotton was chiefly used for fine work, and with the war came avoidance of luxuries. Arrowroot, having subsidiary markets in the United States and Canada, and being needed for the sick and wounded, at first benefited by the war, as far as the quantity exported was concerned though not in price, but in 1916 the export temporarily fell off for lack of transport. Taken as a whole the trade and revenue of the colony suffered much from the war for between two and three years. Expenditure was rigidly controlled and ordinances and Orders in Council, passed very especially in 1916, increased import, export duties, and licences or imposed new ones, levied war stamps, taxed bicycles and in all possible ways required the St. Vincent taxpayers to make good the deficits. A Public Purposes Loan ordinance for borrowing £2,000 was passed in 1915 and a War Loan ordinance in 1916. The latter ordinance provided for a similar sum of £2,000 to meet the cost of the St. Vincent contingent, the money being raised by a local issue of eight debentures of £250 each at 5 per cent. With a gloomy outlook for cotton and arrowroot the St. Vincent planters were advised by the Commissioner of the Imperial Department of Agriculture to revive sugar growing, which had in later years been more or less abandoned in the island except for local consumption; the result was a marked increase in the export of sugar, and there was also a brisk trade in live-stock, cattle being in demand in the French island of Martinique.

In 1917 conditions improved. The St. Vincent type of cotton was found to be especially valuable in the manufacture of aeroplanes, and in October the Colonial Government bought for the Admiralty all the cotton produced. The result was to revive the industry and increase the acreage under cotton cultivation. The arrowroot growers in turn benefited by rising prices, the price of arrowroot by the end of the war having increased by nearly 300 per cent. Another product which was stimulated by the war was maize. This industry had never been remunerative, for no arrangement had been made for drying and storing the grain, and therefore it had to be put on the market, regardless of price, immediately after reaping. The

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Government, alarmed by the poor outlook in 1914 for cotton and arrowroot, sought the advice of Sir Francis Watts, K.C.M.G., Imperial Commissioner of Agriculture for the West Indies, who outlined a scheme for the establishment of a corn industry. During 1915 the officers of the Agricultural Department conducted experiments with regard to the best types of corn. The Government, meanwhile, erected a granary and installed machinery, and in 1917–18 excellent results were obtained by kiln-drying and storing the corn so that it could be converted into corn-meal for use, when local products were scarce and imports of foodstuffs from the United States were restricted. That the industry was thus established on a fairly firm basis was due to the high price of imported cereals, the necessity of producing corn-meal for local use, the facilities offered by the Government granary in purchasing corn on a profit-sharing basis, and the installation of machinery by which the corn could be rendered ready for safe storage. The methods employed at the granary were closely followed on several estates to secure a supply of corn for their stock and for domestic use, and the export of corn increased from a little over 800 bushels before the war to 2,855 bushels in 1917. A larger quantity than usual was used locally, so that the total output cannot be estimated, but during the 1917–18 season 55 tons were shipped to the United Kingdom.

Maize cultivation was greatly stimulated by the shortage of imported wheat flour in the later stages of the war. As time went on there came a scarcity of several necessities, normally imported, and every one felt the pinch. Prices rose, there was a certain amount of profiteering, a food committee was appointed, and legislation was resorted to for fixing the maximum prices of bread and foodstuffs. As the prices of clothing and imported foodstuffs rose the agricultural lower classes retaliated by raising the price of the provisions which they grew for local consumption. Soon everything was rising, except salaries, and there was much suffering among the middle and lower classes in the town, more especially among teachers and clerks, who, on small inelastic salaries, had to keep up appearances. There was at times actual hunger among the lower classes of Kingstown who had no land off which to live, and it speaks highly for them that, in spite of hunger and of the opportunity for wrongdoing afforded by the darkness of the

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town brought about by the lighting regulations, there was little law-breaking. The people must be credited with a feeling of loyalty and self-sacrifice at a time of the Empire's need. The food requirements could in certain respects be met locally but lack of flour caused concern. The Agricultural Superintendent held meetings, advised the people to plant provisions on all available land, and pointed out the best means of storing particular products for times of scarcity during the months March to August. This advice was heeded, but another difficulty developed in the shortage of labour. In St. Vincent this question is always to the fore, but there were circumstances, due to the war, which tended to make it more acute. A considerable number of able-bodied young men of the labouring class had enlisted and so depleted the ranks of labour. Similar conditions had arisen in Trinidad, and the latter colony, availing itself of its sounder financial basis, endeavoured with some degree of success to attract labour from St. Vincent. The difficulty was not experienced on every estate, but on several resort was had to female labour, which in some respects proved far more reliable.

Attempts had been made to meet the shortage of foodstuffs and, while the prices were higher than usual, there was no appreciable scarcity, but in the matter of clothing nothing could be done to relieve the situation. Fourpenny cotton goods rose in price to 1*s.* and 1*s.* 2*d.* a yard ; fourpenny prints, largely used by the populace, rose to 9*d.* a yard. It became a grave problem how the people were to clothe themselves, and this reacted on the school attendance of the children, some of whom were also withdrawn to supply the shortage of labour. Every department of the Government service, every member of the population, was anxiously looking for the end of the struggle, provided that the end, however distant it might be, was the victory of the Allies.

When it came it found in St. Vincent a much tried but loyal and enduring population and a Government which had carefully nursed certain industries, amplified some, introduced others, and in every way tried to safeguard the community during the lean years of war. Finally, the experience of the island in the war proved to demonstration the wisdom of the policy which at the end of the last century established at the cost of Imperial funds a Department of Agriculture for the West Indies.

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SECTION VII

ST. LUCIA

ST. LUCIA is the largest and northernmost of the three Windward Islands with a population in 1914 of under 50,000. It played a great part in the wars of the past. No West Indian island changed hands so often or was more highly valued. This was because of its harbours. Close to the northern end, on the western, the leeward side of the island, is Gros Islet bay, fronted by Pigeon Island, which was Rodney's base before the Battle of the Saints, and lower down on the same side is the main port of the island, the fine natural harbour of Castries, with the chief town, containing some 6,000 inhabitants, at the head of the inlet, 37 miles from the French island of Martinique. The Vigie, the rocky headland on the northern side of the entrance to Castries harbour, and the high ridge, known as the Morne or Morne Fortunée, overlooking the south shore of the harbour and commanding the town, were household names in West Indian warfare. When, in the early eighties, Lord Carnarvon's Commission reported upon the defences of the Empire, Castries was selected as one of two Imperial coaling stations in the West Indies to be fortified and garrisoned, the other being Port Royal in Jamaica. Early in the present century, however, the policy of further concentration of forces led to the removal of the garrison and the dismantling of the fortifications, and in August 1914 Castries was no longer a naval station, though the excellence of the harbour and its coaling facilities made it a great port of call for merchant vessels. In previous wars the French had been the great enemy of England in West Indian seas. Now French and English combined to keep St. Lucia safe, and, more French than English in language and creed, the St. Lucians had no divided sympathies. There were constant changes of Administrator during the war, the longest tenure of the office being that of the Hon. Gideon Murray, previously Administrator of the neighbouring island of St. Vincent.

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CASTRIES HARBOUR, ST. LUCIA

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When war was declared[1] the local Defence Force, together with the Police Force, were mobilized, and detachments were posted to guard certain points of importance near the harbour and along the leeward coast, and to give warning of the approach of enemy ships which might be attracted by the coaling wharves at Port Castries.

H.M.S. *Bristol* was the first British cruiser to enter the harbour after the declaration of war. She had been rounding up enemy vessels in Caribbean waters and on 10th August she appeared off the harbour, escorting 21 of these steamers, which were taken to Gros Islet Bay. When she was first sighted some anxiety was felt as to her nationality, but when the White Ensign was recognized, cheering crowds assembled on the wharves to greet her. A large number of seamen and passengers were brought ashore to be interned, but after a few days on land they were taken back to their ships, which left after a stay of less than a week. On 17th August the French gun-boat *Descartes* arrived at Port Castries. Though a small boat she was heavily armed, and proved a very efficient guard-ship for the harbour. She also co-operated in the policing of these waters with a French cruiser, the *Condé*, and the *Bristol*.

H.M.S. *Good Hope* under the command of Admiral Cradock arrived on Sunday, 23rd August, and came alongside the wharf. After taking on board some eight hundred odd tons of coal, and being stripped of unnecessary furniture and other wood-work, she put to sea again, taking with her forty St. Lucians who had signed on as stokers. Eventually twenty-seven of these men went down with the *Good Hope* in the engagement off the Chilean coast on 1st November 1914, and St. Lucia is justly proud of having been represented in that memorable fight. A small fund was raised for the dependants of the dead.

H.M.S. *Berwick* arrived later bringing two heavy guns which were mounted at the Vigie. At this time the *Karlsruhe* was reported in West Indian waters, and it was rumoured that she had sunk a British liner off St. Lucia. The *Berwick*, which was endeavouring to find the *Karlsruhe*, captured a neutral steamer laden with 2,000 tons of coal and 50 tons of provisions, which, coming from a South American port, was

[1] The following account is condensed from notes on the war effort of St. Lucia, compiled by Mr. J. Desmond Fisher, late Head Master of St. Mary's College, St. Lucia, and forwarded by the Administrator of St. Lucia and the Governor of the Windward Islands.

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suspected of carrying coals and provisions for the *Karlsruhe* and other German ships. The captured vessel was brought in and among her crew was a German reservist. She was subsequently condemned in the Prize Court of St. Lucia, as was also another large neutral steamer taken by the *Berwick* with 6,000 tons of coal on board. The evidence revealed the fact that both vessels were under the direction of a German reservist who travelled as a supercargo, and on leaving New York their professed destination was Buenos Aires, but their real one was a point 50 miles west of Plana Cays, where they were to await the *Karlsruhe* or other German warships. Another prize of the *Berwick* was the Hamburg-American steamer *Spreewald*, and the wireless installation taken from this ship was erected at the Vigie Lighthouse.

During this period the real guardian of the port was the *Descartes*, although other ships, including the *Bristol*, the *Berwick*, the *Essex*, and the *Condé*, frequently visited the port. On the morning of the 25th of September the *Descartes*, under command of Captain Henri La Frogne, lay at her post at the entrance of the harbour when the S.S. *Telesfora* of the Larinaga Line (a Spanish ship leased by a British Company) came into collision with her, causing serious damage and making it necessary for her to proceed to Martinique dry dock for repairs. It appeared that the *Telesfora*, about to enter the harbour at 5 a.m., did not stop when signalled to do so, but only when a blank shot was fired by the *Descartes*. The two ships were, however, by this time only about 50 yards apart and, no attempt being made to alter the course of the *Telesfora*, a collision inevitably occurred. After being repaired, the *Descartes* returned to her station at the mouth of the harbour. On 22nd November, at 4 p.m:, and in perfect weather conditions, the S.S. *Strathmore*, bound for New York, was heading straight out of the harbour when, as soon as the pilot left her, she put on full speed and altering her course to starboard rammed straight into the *Descartes*. A large hole was made in the side of the guardship, which was left in a sinking condition, but, with the aid of sailing vessels and other craft, she managed to reach the wharf. The *Descartes* was so badly damaged that, after temporary repairs had been carried out at Martinique, she had to proceed to France for permanent repairs. Twenty thousand pounds damages were claimed for loss of service of the warship during war-time, and for cost of repairs, the whole

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amount being awarded by the Acting Chief Justice of St. Lucia in February 1919. A few days after this second collision pieces of wreckage, marked *Karlsruhe*, were washed ashore at St. Vincent and Grenada.

In 1917 two of the motor launches sent from England to police West Indian waters were stationed at St. Lucia, their work being to proceed at intervals along the leeward coast on the look-out for German U-boats. A number of small armed steamers worked in conjunction with the M.L.'s and policed the channels between the islands and along the windward coasts where the sea conditions were unsuited for the M.L.'s. Commodore Simpson, in command of H.M.S. *Eileen*, controlled the general movements of the M.L.'s and made the port of Castries his northern naval base.

Early in 1915 the *Berwick* was replaced by the Australian cruisers *Melbourne* and *Sydney*. The latter (the conqueror of the *Emden*) first arrived on 4th January 1915.

Four heavy guns were brought from Fort de France, Martinique, on 26th November 1914, and were mounted by French soldiers on either side of the harbour entrance. In January 1915 two guns were brought from Canada and were mounted at the Morne. A special wireless installation arrived from England about the same time and was erected at the military barracks on the Morne. On 6th April the first draft of soldiers belonging to the Royal Canadian Garrison Artillery arrived, consisting of 6 officers and 68 men; this number was later increased to approximately 250 men. Shortly after the arrival of the Canadian garrison an examination service in connexion with ships entering the harbour was instituted. An officer of the R.C.G.A. was detailed for this work and had at his disposal a small steamer, the *Vigilant*. His duties were to examine all ships entering or passing the harbour to see that the regulations were complied with, and that no contraband or suspicious characters were on board. In 1917 it was considered advisable to close the port at night. The *Vigilant* also carried out mine-sweeping operations at the entrance to the harbour once a week, being helped in this work by the R.M. Coastal Steamer *Taff*.

In the matter of overseas service St. Lucia contributed to the British West Indies Regiment 5 officers and 354 men.

The Civil Administration had to deal with the important problem of maintaining an adequate supply of food for the population. St. Lucia being an agricultural community, the

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difficulties concerning food production were never as great as those experienced in the Mother Country. The problem became acute only when the supplies of imported foods were reduced by lack of shipping and owing to the control of exports from the United States of America and Canada. As it could not be foreseen to what extent supplies would be reduced it was a case of preparing for the worst while hoping for the best. Accordingly a commission, composed of official and unofficial members, was appointed to inquire into the sufficiency of the food and grain supply in the Colony, and the inquiry resulted in the formation of a Food Board, which regulated the supply and the retail prices of imported foods. Local food production was left to the Agricultural Department, assisted by a committee composed of planters and merchants. The scheme which was carried out covered the following points: (*a*) increased production; (*b*) even distribution throughout the colony; (*c*) continuous and adequate supply of fresh vegetables to public institutions; (*d*) maintenance of fair prices between producer and consumer; (*e*) establishment of a Government Central Provisions Dépôt in Castries, where provisions were bought from producers and retailed to the general public; (*f*) manufacture, on a commercial scale, of flour made from sweet potatoes as a substitute for wheaten flour; (*g*) maintenance of a reserve of potato flour in case of serious shortage of wheaten flour. Free grants of Crown lands, for the purpose of growing food crops, were made to peasants for the duration of the war, cuttings and seeds of food crops were distributed in large quantities from the Government nurseries, and the clergy of all denominations heartily and effectively co-operated with the Government in inducing the peasants to increase their production of foodstuffs.

As the war continued the number of ships visiting the West Indies decreased, and the local coaling trade suffered in consequence. During 1917 the number of steamers coaling at Castries in a month was often less than the number that were coaled in one week in pre-war days. This caused a certain amount of hardship among the coal-carriers of Castries and some depression in business generally. On the other hand, the effect of the war on the staple agricultural industries was most beneficial. For a time some inconvenience was experienced through the control of the exports of cocoa, but the market value of produce increased considerably, although the planters

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failed to reap the full benefit of enhanced prices owing to increase of freights and insurance charges. Cocoa advanced greatly in price, concentrated lime juice from £28 to £52 10*s.* per standard pipe, sugar from £12 to £26 per ton, and kola from 2*d.* to 2*s.* per lb.

Great efforts were made from time to time to raise money for the various war charities, chief among them being the fêtes which were given in aid of the Red Cross and which were held each year from 1915 to 1918 inclusive. All classes in St. Lucia contributed liberally in money, time, or gifts to make these fêtes a great success. On 'Our Day' every village and town in the island organized its own fête in an endeavour to swell the General Fund. The results were the following Red Cross subscriptions:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
1914	621	9	5
1915 (Our Day)	671	0	0
1916 (Our Day)	965	0	0
1917 (Our Day)	918	5	0
1918 (Our Day)	1,100	0	0
Individual subscriptions, &c. . . .	84	2	11
Total	4,359	17	4

£490 were also contributed to the French Red Cross. Including War Loan subscriptions in 1917 to the amount of £12,200, £1,000 contributed to the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund and £2,000 voted by the Legislature for a gift of cocoa to H.M. Forces, the total contributions of the island to war purposes and charities amounted to £21,495 6*s.* 7*d.* The objects were manifold, varying from Belgian relief to comforts for the St. Lucia contingent, and cocoa and guava jelly figured among the gifts in kind.

Revenue and trade suffered in St. Lucia, as elsewhere, at the beginning of the war, but subsequently, as judged by money values, the revenue, reinforced by increased import duties and by export duties in 1915, exceeded the receipts of pre-war years, while the exports, as expressed in money, were also greatly in excess of the figures before the war. St. Lucia naturally felt some of the ill effects of the war, particularly in respect to the increase in prices of imported foods, cotton goods, and hoes and cutlasses. Apart from these comparatively slight adversities, however, no real hardships were experienced and it is doubtful if any other part of the British Empire suffered so little as these West Indian Islands.

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SECTION VIII

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

TRINIDAD became a part of the British Empire by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. That treaty gave Tobago, which was then in British possession, back to France, but the island was shortly afterwards retaken and finally secured to Great Britain in 1814. The British title to both islands, therefore, dates from the Napoleonic wars. Tobago, now incorporated with Trinidad, is about half the size of the Isle of Man. Trinidad, next to Jamaica the largest of the British West Indian islands, is rather smaller than Lancashire. In 1914 the population of the combined colony was about 350,000, and Port of Spain, the capital, was a town of fully 60,000 inhabitants. The population of Trinidad is very mixed, the European element being mainly of Spanish or French descent, and East Indians forming a third of the community. It is a very prosperous island, rich in sugar, cocoa, asphalt, and oil ; and, lying close against the mainland with a spacious and secure anchorage in the land-locked Gulf of Paria, it is a natural entrepôt of trade. Its neighbourhood to Venezuela is, at the same time, a source of occasional difficulty and unrest, and in the late war it was very accessible to enemy agencies at work in the neutral republics of Central and South America. There is no elective element in the Legislative Council. When the war began the Governor was Sir George Le Hunte, G.C.M.G., of long and varied service, who had previously been Governor of South Australia. He left the island on retirement in October 1915 and was succeeded by Sir John Chancellor, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., who was transferred from the Government of Mauritius and reached Trinidad on the 1st of June 1916.[1]

Trinidad was no better prepared for war than were most other parts of the Empire. German warships had been frequent visitors and had been made welcome, their officers had been entertained, their sailors landed, their bands had played at

[1] The account which follows was in the main compiled by Mr. H. H. Hancock, M.A., Inspector of Schools for the Colony.

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concerts and in the Public Gardens. Only in the preceding January the *Hertha* had been for three weeks in harbour. These men-of-war came to carry out big gun practice in the Gulf of Paria, to which the original H.M.S. *Dreadnought* had come for her trials in 1907. The Germans left their floating target on the wharf for future use, and there it remained till it rotted away.

The defences of the colony on the outbreak of war were weak, eight field guns (six of them obsolete muzzle loaders, traditionally reported to have been with Roberts to Candahar), 100 Light Horse, 160 Volunteer Light Infantry, and a well-drilled Constabulary Force, 742 strong. Steps were taken without delay, under a defence scheme, to do what was possible. A second battalion of infantry, with a cycle section, a company of Mounted Infantry, and one of field artillery were raised: trenches were dug at possible landing-places, but in the absence of modern artillery or explosives, a German raider might have held up Port of Spain and destroyed the oil storage tanks down the coast at La Brea. For Trinidad is one of the oil-producing countries in the Empire, and her fields, though small and only in process of development, supplied many millions of gallons to the Admiralty during the war. There was every reason to think that if any of the British West Indies would be attacked in the first week of the war it would be Trinidad. At the end of 1913 Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock was at Barbados and had sent a message that he was coming to Port of Spain. One of his ships was actually on the way when he received orders to proceed to Vera Cruz in consequence of the revolution in Mexico, and the outbreak of war with Germany found him there. Some German men-of-war were also at Vera Cruz, apparently on the friendliest relations with the British ships. They suddenly disappeared, and two days afterwards came the news that war had been declared. Thus the Germans had two days start, and it was more likely that they might seize the opportunity, even with the admiral following them in hot haste, to run into the Gulf of Paria, sink the floating dock, burn the coal hulks, wreck the new wireless station at Port of Spain, at that time the largest and most powerful in the West Indies and the repeating station for the Navy, and destroy the oil tanks near Brighton on the southern shore of the gulf.

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It was a sporting opportunity, a few hours and a few shells would have done the damage. The Governor had been warned of the probability of an attack and took measures accordingly; but the Germans passed by and few people knew how narrowly Trinidad had escaped. A 'two funnelled' steamer was in fact reported coming through the intricate 'Serpent's Mouth', the southern outlet of the gulf, but she proved to be a cattle steamer from Cayenne, with a windsail hoisted before her one funnel which at a distance had produced a false impression. Among the lying reports spread in Venezuela and Colombia by German agents was a statement that Trinidad and Barbados had been taken and held up to ransom.

Admiral Cradock called later at Port of Spain in the flag-ship *Good Hope* on his way south to the battle of Coronel. There were no more alarms, but vigilance was not relaxed even after assurance was given that the *Karlsruhe* had perished. Eventually the last fears were set at rest when a flotilla of motor launches arrived in 1917, followed by a detachment of Royal Garrison Artillery, bringing modern guns which were placed in position to command the entrances of the gulf.

Having set her own house in order, Trinidad began to render what little military aid she could to the British Army. A continuous stream of patriotic young men of the well-to-do class took passages at their own expense to England, where they joined various units of the Regular forces. Many of them were granted commissions, many gained military distinctions, and many gave their lives. Including those who were abroad when the war began and enlisted in England or Canada, 458 in all joined 'on their own', 34 of them in the French Army.

When in July 1915 authority was given for raising in the West Indies a force for active service, Trinidad was not behind the other colonies. Enthusiastic recruiting meetings were held and a first contingent to the British West Indies Regiment of 444 officers and men sailed on 18th September 1915. The publication of His Majesty's appeal in October further stimulated recruiting, and a second contingent of 102 followed on 17th November. These men suffered much from cold during their voyage and training in England, and many were returned as medically unfit. The third contingent, from lack of transport, did not sail till 28th March 1917, 301 strong. The fourth, 423 strong, followed on 7th July, and the fifth, of 211, on

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RETURN OF WEST INDIA REGIMENT

Landing at Port of Spain beside Navy Station

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17th December 1917, a total of 39 officers and 1,442 men.[1] They were all volunteers, for Trinidad did not follow Jamaica in introducing conscription.

The later contingents received their preliminary training in the fine old barracks erected in the colony's early days as a British possession. A large garrison of Regulars was then maintained. It is interesting to read that one of the regiments was a German battalion, 'Hompesch's Jägers',[2] and General Sir Thomas Picton, of Waterloo fame, the first British Governor of Trinidad, reported that 'the only inquietude we have experienced has been occasioned by the deserters, mostly Germans'.

It was felt in the colony that there were many young men whose position and education would enable them to do better service to the Empire than by enlisting in the regiment, but who were unable to pay their own travelling expenses. An influential committee was accordingly formed to raise subscriptions to pay the passage-money of such volunteers. A sum of £9,507 was subscribed and a 'Merchants' Contingent', 113 strong, left on 18th October 1915. A second 'Merchants' Contingent' followed in December, and other 'Merchants' and 'Merchants and Planters' contingents followed, till a total of over 270 young men were able to join the Army. A considerable percentage obtained commissions, some served in the Tanks in Russia, some in the Flying Corps, others in the Artillery, in fact there were few branches of the service in which they were not represented.

As far as can be ascertained the distinctions gained in the war by Trinidadians, or those who were closely connected with Trinidad, included 5 D.S.O., 20 M.C., 6 M.M., 5 Croix de Guerre, and 10 Mentions in Dispatches.

No colony in the Empire has a population of more varied elements—British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, African, Hindu, and Chinese. The motto of the colony, adapted from Virgil, is 'Miscerique probat populos et foedera jungi'. The war showed that the 'blending of the peoples' had been accomplished when on the muster rolls such diverse names appeared as Sorzano, de Boissiere, Brown, Robinson, McLeod,

[1] The figures on p. 335, as taken from the Record Office of the British West Indies Regiment, are 40 officers and 1,438 other ranks.

[2] Hompesch's Jägers were afterwards incorporated in the Sixtieth, the Royal Americans (the oldest colonial corps in the Army), now the King's Royal Rifle Corps, as part of the 5th Battalion.

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O'Connor, Dos Santos, Ranjitsingh, and Acham. Besides doing what could be done against the enemy abroad, Trinidad guarded against the enemy within her gates. Resident enemy aliens were interned, as well as seamen found serving on ships calling at the port. The 'peaceful penetration' by Germany had begun, cocoa properties, other businesses, and insurance offices were in alien hands. In October 1914 a Liquidation Committee was appointed, and an ordinance was passed to wind up the businesses and deal with properties of alien enemies, and when, after four years' labour the committee completed its work, it was found that a quarter of a million sterling had been devoted to gaining a footing for further exploitation in this corner of the Empire. The extent to which 'peaceful penetration' had been carried was shown by the fact that in November 1914 it was found necessary to pass an Estates (Labourers) Relief Ordinance, to authorize advances for payment of wages on estates financed by aliens. There were 77 of such estates, and the advances were all repaid by the 31st of March 1915.

Another danger was within the household. If the loyalty of the untutored masses was to be preserved, it was felt that they must be saved from the profiteer, and a Food Supply Committee was appointed in August 1914 to fix the maximum prices that might be charged from time to time for staple articles of imported food, such as flour, rice, and salt-fish. Subsequently, it was found necessary to add beef, and later on wholesale prices also were regulated.

The help in money or kind given during the war comes under two headings, public moneys voted by the Legislative Council, and contributions by individuals to various patriotic funds. The Legislative Council on 5th October 1914 voted £40,820 for the purchase of the colony's staple product, raw cocoa, as a present to the Services. This was manufactured into chocolate in England. On 9th August 1915 the Council pledged the colony to provide funds for sending a contingent to the seat of war. Up to December 1919 £79,189 had thus been spent as well as £69,753 on the defence scheme. On 5th November 1915 it was resolved to provide for separation allowances, pensions, &c., up to £12,000 per annum, and £22,882 had been spent up to December 1919. On 9th August 1917 an Emergency War Tax was voted in the form of an Income Tax, graduated on

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incomes over £500. The sum of £94,742 was thus raised, which was brought up to £100,000 from the revenue from war stamps and given to H.M. Government for war purposes. £250 were voted to the Lord Roberts's Memorial Fund, £250 to the relief of destitute Belgian Children, and £500 to the French Red Cross. In 1918 a Local Loan Ordinance was passed authorizing the Colonial Government to raise funds for a further contribution of £100,000 towards the expenses of the war, and that sum was paid over in September to the Imperial Treasury.

At the beginning of the war an enthusiastic public meeting was held to raise subscriptions for a 'Patriotic Fund'. A sum of £12,081 2*s*. 5*d*. was raised, of which £10,000 were remitted to the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund and the balance expended through the Secretary of the West India Committee on the needs of Trinidad soldiers serving in the war. A committee of ladies called a public meeting on 4th September 1914, at which it was resolved to form a fund in aid of the British Red Cross Society. Collectors were appointed for districts, Red Cross stamps were introduced, Flag Days were held and numerous entertainments organized for this as for other funds. In all a sum of £29,739 15*s*. 4*d*. was collected. Of this £378 10*s*. 3*d*. were set apart for two 'Trinidad' Motor Ambulances and the August collections were each year sent to the Scottish Branch to the amount of £4,000 3*s*. 4*d*.; 14 beds being thus endowed at the Scottish National Red Cross Hospital at Glasgow. An Orange and Limes Committee was formed in 1914 to collect gifts of local fruits and preserves and funds for the crates in which to ship them; the labour of preparing the lime juice and packing was supplied by an enthusiastic band of volunteer helpers, and £1,553 6*s*. 0*d*. were subscribed to expenses. Up to the end of September 1918 the Committee shipped to the hospitals and nursing homes of the British Red Cross Society 3,104 gallons of lime juice, 4,182 crates of fruit (oranges and green limes), 10,130 lb. of preserved fruits and jams, 87,766 lb. of sugar, and to the Croix Rouge Française 1,116 crates. A gift of 300 polished walking-sticks of creole hardwood was also sent for the use of crippled men. The fruit was carried free by the steamship companies, but in the absence of steamer accommodation during the last two years it was not possible to ship fruit, so the committee devoted its funds

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to sending sugar. Other funds to which contributions were made were :

	£	s.	d
Port of Spain Gazette Fund in aid of the Widows and Orphans Fund	2,000	0	0
Overseas Club, Aircraft Fund	1,500	0	0
Overseas Club, for Red Cross Bed at Cairo	40	0	0
Queen Alexandra's Field Force Fund	50	0	0
Disabled and Blind Fund	37	10	0
Blue Cross Fund (for wounded horses)	43	15	0
Mine Sweepers Fund	625	0	0
'Carry on Fund' (to various charities)	1,669	14	7
Southern War Fund	143	0	0
Officers' Families	833	6	8
French War Charities	2,245	16	8
French Red Cross (France's Day, including £500 from Government Funds)	2,087	0	2
Widows and orphans of French invaded Departments	292	10	0
Ligue des Femmes Françaises	4	19	7
National Committee for relief of destitute Belgian Children (including £250 from Government Funds)	866	10	0
Belgian Children's Christmas Fund (the poor children in Primary Schools subscribed £416 to the two Belgian Funds)	301	11	6
Wounded Belgian Soldiers Fund	10	0	0

A Red Cross Sewing Circle sent large quantities of surgical dressings and clothing for refugee children to Cannes, and other committees prepared bandages.

The total financial aid, Government and private, to the end of 1918 amounted, very roughly, to about £478,776. The contributions of the colony in men and money may seem insignificant when compared with those of the great Dominions, but Trinidad is very small in comparison. Her area is about that of Devonshire, and two-thirds of it are largely untouched tropical forest ; her population is only about that of Bristol or Edinburgh ; her revenue in 1914 was £970,789, in 1917, with increased taxation, £1,098,183 ; there is no wealthy class, the Emergency War Tax showed only 700 with an income over £500 per annum. The contributions, therefore, must be looked at in proportion.

The outbreak of war depressed the revenue and trade returns, but, as the war went on, a combination of good crops and high prices enriched the colony. There was a great decrease in the export of asphalt, for want of transport, and the coco-nut industry fell off but revived in 1916. Sugar and cocoa made record profits. Before 1914 ended the excise duty on rum was increased, import duties were levied on spirits and tobacco,

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and an Emergency Funds Ordinance was passed, providing for the war expenses of 1915 by export duties on sugar, cocoa, coco-nuts, and copra. At the end of 1915 this ordinance was renewed for 1916, with the duties somewhat revised and with the addition of a small export duty on rum. Some addition to taxation was also made under import duties. At the end of 1916 for the Emergency Funds Ordinance was substituted a Produce Taxation Ordinance, which, for the year 1917, raised in most cases the export duties levied under the expired ordinance, added to the list cedar and hides, and provided that the duty on sugar should be paid whether the sugar was exported or not. This ordinance was renewed, with variations of the duties, for 1918 and 1919. June 1918 brought an ordinance imposing a war tax for the current year on incomes over £500, and in the following December another ordinance continued the tax, though at lower rates, for 1919. It has already been seen that in 1917 a special war income-tax was levied for the specific purpose of making a contribution in aid of the war.

Of the special effects of the war on the colony, two are prominent, the effect on the sugar industry and the move towards making Trinidad self-supporting. The determination of the British public through many years to use cheap German bounty-fed beet-sugar, at whatever cost to their own colonies, had caused thousands of acres in Trinidad which once grew canes, to revert to bush or be planted in cocoa. The high war prices enabled existing sugar estates to improve their buildings and machinery, but little extension of cultivation is possible without more labour and more certainty as to the future economic policy of the Empire. It seems paradoxical that an essentially agricultural colony does not feed its people; but it has paid better in the past to employ the limited supply of labour in growing the staples of sugar and cocoa and to buy imported flour, rice, and fish to feed the labourers. The Department of Agriculture made strenuous endeavours from the beginning of the war to rouse the labouring population to the possibility of food imports being seriously diminished, and in the third and fourth years of the war the increase in the prices of bread and rice brought the danger home. The Government did all that could be done, a ground provisions committee was constituted early in the war, lectures were given up and down the colony, lands were rented at low prices for the

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cultivation of potatoes, yams, maize, plantains, and other food crops. Great gashes appeared on the hill-sides covered before with a soft green mantle of forest; lands capable of growing rice were sold on easy terms to the eager East Indian population. But there exists in Trinidad—as elsewhere—a section of the community that does not agree with the Apostolic injunction, 'If a man will not work, neither shall he eat'. The praedial thief will not work but he will eat the fruit of other men's toil. To meet this paralysing influence on industry the Government passed, on 19th April 1918, 'The Habitual Idlers Ordinance'. This ordinance aimed at providing work through Labour Exchanges for all who were really looking for it, and for settling the incorrigible idlers in labour colonies where they would be trained into industrious citizens. Thus it may be hoped that a lasting benefit will remain to the colony after all the losses and privations of the war have been made good and forgotten.

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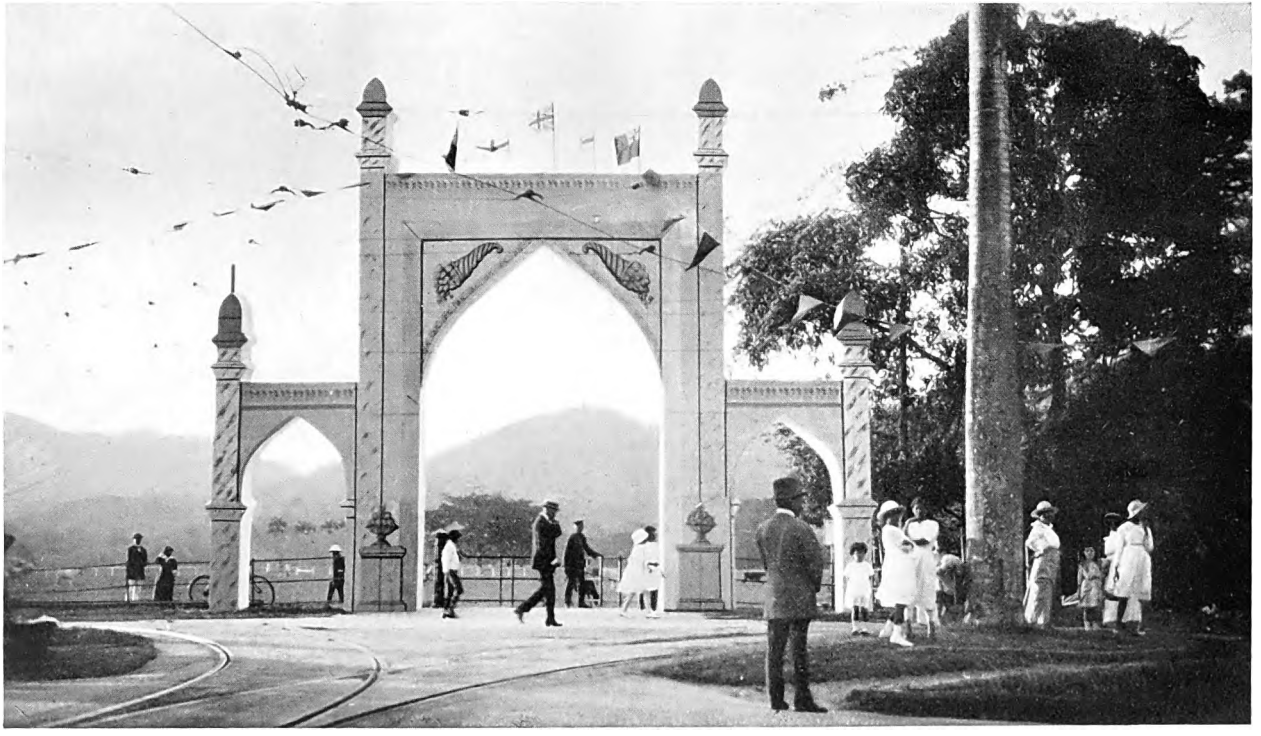

TRIUMPHAL ARCH ERECTED IN HONOUR OF THE TRINIDAD DETACHMENT OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIA REGIMENT

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SECTION IX

BRITISH GUIANA[1]

BRITISH GUIANA, the one British possession on the mainland of South America, is of much the same size as Great Britain, rather under 90,000 square miles in area, with a very sparse population of round about 300,000, of whom about 60,000 live in the capital, Georgetown. It is one of the Dutch colonies which the Napoleonic wars gave to Great Britain, being finally ceded by the Peace of 1814. Its complicated constitution, which is, in a modified form, a legacy from Dutch times, gives full control of taxation and finance to the elected representatives of the community in what is known as the Combined Court. In 1914 the Governor was Sir Walter Egerton, K.C.M.G., who, after long service in the Malay Peninsula, had been Governor of Southern Nigeria. He left the colony in ill health in June 1916, finally retired in March 1917, and was succeeded by Sir Wilfrid Collet, K.C.M.G., previously Governor of British Honduras, who reached Georgetown and took up his appointment in April 1917. In the interval the Government was administered by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. C. Clementi, C.M.G.

British Guiana is a land of great rivers, with a very rich foreshore, a scene of sugar and rice plantations, and an interior of savannah and forest still waiting to be developed with the help of railways, long projected but not yet carried out. The small population contains the most varied elements. Of the Europeans the large majority are of Portuguese descent, the result of immigration from Madeira, which began after the abolition of slavery. East Indians, the outcome of the Indentured Immigration system, form over a third of the total population and outnumber the Africans; there are a few thousand of aboriginal Caribs, and between 2,000 and 3,000 Chinese. Sugar, with its by-products, constitutes the staple

[1] In the compilation of this account the editor has been much indebted to Mr. C. Clementi, C.M.G., late Colonial Secretary of British Guiana.

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wealth of the colony, but rice cultivation, in East Indian hands, has of late years made great strides, while, beyond the coast region, the colony is rich in timber and gums, especially balata, and produces gold and diamonds. Its neighbours are Venezuela and Brazil, the respective boundaries having been settled by comparatively recent arbitrations, and on the east, Dutch Guiana.

The Defence Forces of the colony in 1914, actual or potential, were a highly trained semi-military Police Force and the Militia. The police was composed of 18 officers, nearly 100 non-commissioned officers, and about 600 rank and file, 40 of whom were Mounted Police. The rank and file were mainly natives of the colony, with a few from the West Indian Islands and a few East Indians, all being able to read and write English. During the war four sub-inspectors were seconded for service in the British West Indies Regiment, and one resigned to take a commission in the Army, being subsequently killed in action. Fifty-eight constables enlisted in the British West Indies Regiment, five of whom died on active service. In June 1915 an ordinance was passed which made the police liable to military service within the colony in case of actual or apprehended invasion. The colony, it will be remembered, was a mainland colony, with three neutral neighbours, one of which, Venezuela, was much penetrated by German influence.

The Militia had been constituted by an ordinance of 1891, which provided for an Active and a Reserve Force. The Active Force was to comprise a company of artillery, and a battalion of infantry composed of seven companies, the minimum strength of each company being 60 non-commissioned officers and men and the maximum 100; but the Governor was empowered to order at any time that any company or companies should not be embodied. All male British subjects resident in the colony, possessing a specified amount of property or income, and being between the ages of 18 and 45, were made liable to serve, the term of service being three years. A register was to be kept of those who were liable and, if sufficient volunteers were not forthcoming, the deficiency was to be made good by ballot. The Reserve Force was to consist of men who had passed through the Active Force and were still under the age of 45.

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As a matter of fact the Militia was composed of Creoles of the colony, a few British, Portuguese, and colonial born. There had been two companies of volunteers in the colony, but they were disbanded in 1914 and replaced by Militia. The Governor was given power by the ordinance to call out the Militia for actual military service, and it was mobilized on the outbreak of war. Its strength during mobilization was as follows :

	Officers.	*Other Ranks.*
Staff (which was the same for the Militia and the Police)	6	4
Active Artillery Company	4	77
Active Infantry Companies	7	204
Band	—	34
Reserve Artillery	—	49
Reserve Infantry	5	154
Total Active and Reserve	22	522

Before the end of 1914 thirteen nominees of the Governor received commissions in the British Army, and four more followed in 1915. A number of young men left on their own initiative and at their own expense to join various units, while others, whose homes were in British Guiana, but who happened to be at the time outside the colony, also took service in the fighting forces. As far as has been ascertained, at least 107 men, connected with British Guiana, joined under this category. Late in the war, after recruiting for the British West Indies Regiment had ceased, as there were still young men desirous of serving who could not afford to pay their own passages, passages to Canada were, in June to October 1918, paid by the colony for nineteen, who enlisted in the Canadian Army.

On the 4th of June 1915, at a special meeting of the Combined Court, it was resolved to offer to the Home Government 100 or more recruits for service in the war at the expense of the colony. The offer was accepted, recruiting committees were formed, the numbers required were obtained without the least difficulty, on the 21st of August 1915, 120 non-commissioned officers and men, with one officer, were dispatched, and on the 19th of September 150 non-commissioned officers and men, with two officers. The War Office having decided to form a British West Indies Regiment, these two first detachments, which included not a few members of the police and

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militia, were constituted A Company of the 1st battalion of the regiment. With the formation of the regiment there was a call for further recruits, and in all British Guiana supplied to the regiment for service at the front 14 officers and 686 men. Seven drafts were sent, as well as extra details to supply casualties in the fifth draft. The fifth draft was unfortunate. Leaving British Guiana on the 25th November 1916, a very fine body of well-trained men, it was detained in Trinidad for a transport until the 29th of March 1917, with the result that a number of men fell sick, and out of 170 rank and file 90 were returned to British Guiana as medically unfit. The numbers who actually went to the front in the British Guiana contingent are no index to the numbers who offered for service. No fewer than 1,708 men were rejected on medical grounds, the main cause of rejection being filaria. When the war was over, the majority of the contingent were repatriated by the beginning of October 1919, and a vote was taken on the estimates for 1920 for gratuities to the returned soldiers. The death-roll in the contingent included 46 killed in action or died of wounds or sickness on active service, 9 killed in action after having been transferred to other regiments, and 6 who died after being invalided back to the colony. On a rough estimate, in the contingent or outside its ranks, British Guiana contributed in all to the war 843 fighting men, of whom 80 died on active service. The distinctions included 12 M.C., one with bar, 4 M.M., 2 D.C.M., 1 M.S.M., 1 D.S.M., 1 Royal Red Cross, 1 Croix de Guerre, 1 Legion d'Honneur. The first distinction won by a member of the British West Indies Regiment was the Military Medal, awarded to Lance-Corporal T. Alexander. Two ladies were in the list, Miss D. M. P. Moody, who, serving with the Belgian and French armies, obtained the Croix de Guerre, and Miss Agnes Veecock, who worked at Netley Hospital and received the Red Cross honour. The cost of the contingent to the colony, including expenses in connexion with the return of the soldiers and gratuities after return, amounted to $327,762; and a sum of about $123,060 was expended on home defence, making the total military expenditure of British Guiana on account of the war $450,822.

The military effort of the colony was supplemented by placing four steamers at the service of the Admiralty from

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May 1917 to January 1919 for the purpose of the anti-submarine patrol, one of which was owned by the Colonial Government and three by the firm of Messrs. Sprostons, Ltd. They were mainly employed around the Windward and Leeward Islands; one struck a reef near the Grenadines and was lost, while the Chief Engineer of another, for gallant conduct on the occasion of a boiler explosion, was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal referred to above.

In addition to bearing the cost of the contingent, British Guiana contributed substantially in money and in kind to the Mother Country and the war, both from Government and from private funds. The first gift was from the Government, 1,000 tons of British Guiana sugar, the offer being telegraphed by the Governor on the 2nd of September 1914 and unanimously endorsed by the Combined Court on the 7th of that month. Eventually, in 1916, the sugar was sold to the Royal Commission on Sugar Supply and the money realized by the sale, amounting to £17,567, was, at the suggestion of the Home Government, applied towards the general expenses of the war. In November 1914 a further gift of 500,000 lb. of rice was made, being designed for the benefit of the British East Indian fighting forces, for their hospitals and convalescent homes in the United Kingdom. The money value of the two gifts came to £21,018. In November 1916, on an appeal from the Overseas Club, the Combined Court voted the cost of an aeroplane for the Royal Flying Corps, $7,200, and on the same day, in response to an appeal from the Lord Mayor of London, voted a subscription of $5,000 to the Lord Kitchener Memorial Fund.

At the head of the funds to which the people of the colony subscribed comes the British Red Cross Fund, started in the colony in October 1915. Nearly $84,000 were subscribed to it, and in addition the British Red Cross received $7,921 from the Government Officers' Red Cross Fund, the outcome of monthly contributions from salaries none too large for times when cost of living was exceptionally high, $8,153 from the British Guiana Women's Red Cross Fund, and $1,062 from Primary School Teachers. Subscriptions were also sent to the Scottish branch of the Red Cross Society, and over $2,000 to the French Red Cross. Next to the Red Cross the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund was the largest beneficiary, as it

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was the first, or almost the first, in the field. On the last day of August 1914 Lady Egerton, O.B.E., wife of the Governor, invited subscriptions through the local press, and nearly $46,000 were subscribed. A fund, started in 1915, realized over $12,000 for the benefit of the hospital ships at Southampton Docks. An Aircraft Fund, stimulated by the Overseas Club, provided the cost of an aeroplane (making two aeroplanes presented by the colony) and a balance which was handed over to the Red Cross. A West Indian Contingent Committee Fund in 1917 provided $5,090 for comforts to the British Guiana members of the British West Indies Regiment, which sum was supplemented in 1919 by an additional $2,650. Belgian Relief, including a Belgian Children's Relief Fund, to which the schools of the colony subscribed $2,400, French relief, and other objects benefited by smaller sums. A very valuable agency was the British Guiana War Relief Needlework Guild, which Lady Egerton started in September 1914 and which worked in connexion with Queen Mary's Needlework Guild in London. It had branches throughout the colony and was supported to the amount of $9,000 in money, in addition to gifts of material. The work was in all cases gratuitous, the articles were carried by the steamer companies free of charge, and the destination of the articles was, after the first few months, almost exclusively the Red Cross hospitals. Lady Egerton was succeeded as President of the Guild by the wife of the Colonial Secretary, Mrs. Clementi, M.B.E., and the Secretary of the Guild was Mrs. J. H. Conyers, M.B.E., wife of the Surgeon-General of the colony. Mrs. Sconce was a leading worker in connexion with the Women's Red Cross Fund. For his efforts in organizing the main Red Cross Fund, Mr. J. B. Cassels received the distinction of M.B.E. Gifts in kind sent by firms or individuals included sugar molasses and rum presented by the great British Guiana firm of S. Davson & Co., and rice presented by three East Indian merchants. Officers of the Lands Department were responsible for sending a large number of walking sticks for the use of wounded sailors or soldiers. The following table gives the contributions in money from Government (other than war expenditure) and from private sources :

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	Government Contributions.	*Private Sources.*
	$	$
Sugar	84,323.94	2,610.00
Rice	16,561.98	152.00
Rum	—	4,900.00
Molascuit	—	480.00
National War Relief Fund	—	45,603.07
Queen Mary's Needlework Guild	—	9,000.00
Aircraft	7,200.00	10,800.00
Red Cross	—	83,993.34
,, (Women's Fund)	—	8,153.20
,, (Government Officers' Fund)	—	7,921.10
,, (Primary School Teachers' Fund)	—	1,062.11
Hospital Ships, Southampton	—	12,450.06
Belgian Relief	—	2,411.36
Kitchener Memorial	5,000.00	—
West Indian Contingent Fund	—	5,090.28 2,650.76
French Red Cross	—	2,120.01
Other Funds (say)	—	8,000.00
	113,085.92	207,397.29

British Guiana entered the war with a substantial reserve in the Treasury and at the end of 1918, with the help of war taxation, had paid up to date the expenses which the war entailed and had nearly doubled its reserve. The war had undoubtedly brought temporary prosperity to the colony; branches of banks had multiplied, the number of depositors in the Savings Bank had increased, a co-operative loan bank had been established. At the beginning the Imperial Government guaranteed advances to the amount of £207,000 to meet the expenditure to which the colony was pledged up to the end of June 1916, but only £137,000 of this amount was actually borrowed, and this was in the early part of the war. Subsequently the Colonial Government, which, by an Ordinance of 1916, took power to borrow up to $2,000,000, raised locally such money as was necessary, local loans producing $740,000. The net funded debt on 31st March 1914 stood at $3,904,000, and on 31st December 1918 at $5,165,000, an increase in $4\frac{3}{4}$ years of $1,261,000. The first months of the war, which included the initial dislocation of trade and the initial expenses on the defence forces and on the gifts of sugar and rice to the Imperial Government, strained the finances, and the year which ended on 31st March 1915 showed a deficit on the current account. But later years told a different tale,

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and even 1914, in spite of the war, was a good year for trade.

The war affected the staple products of the colony in different ways. There, as everywhere else, it was wholly advantageous to sugar. The Home Government took all the available sugar, the price of sugar rose constantly, and the value of the export increased between 1913 and 1918 by 87 per cent. It was a matter of higher prices, not of greater output and export, for during the same period, though good crops on the whole coincided with high prices, the area under sugar cultivation increased only by 7 per cent., want of labour, a constant difficulty in British Guiana, being accentuated. Of the by-products of the sugar-cane rum profited by the war, at any rate in its early stages, for it was relieved from the competition of German spirit. Rice cultivation was greatly extended. At first the export of rice, as being a foodstuff, was prohibited. The prohibition was removed in 1915, and there was a record export in that year and in 1916. In the latest stages of the war, owing to the scarcity and high price of imported flour, the duty on which had been raised earlier in the war, rice was in growing demand for home consumption, and the export was again restricted, but, whether inside or outside the colony it had a ready and profitable sale, the East Indian rice-growers prospered proportionately and, unlike the sugar-planters, were able to grow more year by year. Balata, before the war, had found its way very largely through London to Germany, and at first the closing of the German market reduced the export, but in a short time it was in good demand in both the United Kingdom and the United States. Coco-nut cultivation prospered and copra began to figure in the list of exports. Coffee, too, seemed to flourish in war-time. Among minerals, the gold industry, which had previously shown signs of revival, was almost the only industry which was hard hit by the war. It was otherwise with diamonds. After the war began, the European market for diamonds was closed, but about a year later the British Government commandeered for use in munitions all the diamonds that could be supplied, with the result that the export of diamonds in 1917 was a record for the colony. In March of the same year the first shipment of bauxite was made from British Guiana.

The export duties levied in the different colonies during the

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GEORGETOWN, BRITISH GUIANA

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war years were a good index to the industries which profited by and could therefore afford to pay for the war. Such duties were in British Guiana levied on sugar, rum, rice, charcoal and cordwood, and balata. Among other war taxes the excise duty on rum was increased, customs duties were raised, and so were stamp duties. The year 1917 brought a special postage war tax, and an excess profits tax. The familiar entertainment tax was introduced for cinema theatres. Food supplies were the object of special solicitude, and one of the earliest war-time enactments was an ordinance to regulate the prices of foodstuffs, passed in the first instance for one year only, but in 1915 prolonged for the duration of the war. An ordinance of 1915 gave the Government power to prohibit any exports whatever during the war, and in 1917 a special ordinance was passed giving power to regulate the export of foodstuffs, while another ordinance provided for the registration of crops and of live-stock. Early in 1917 a special committee was appointed to advise as to food supplies, and especially as to the maximum prices for local sales.

The last year of the war, 1918, was less prosperous than its predecessors. The sugar export was hampered by want of shipping, the season was unfavourable for rice, and the trade returns compared unfavourably with those of 1917. But, taken as a whole, the war benefited the colony. The cost of living necessarily rose, but with abundant stock of rice there was no real difficulty in feeding the people. The imports which under stress of war Great Britain could not supply were, except at the very end, forthcoming from Canada and the United States, whose trade grew at the expense of that of the United Kingdom. In particular, sugar recouped itself for long years of adversity, and the war which laid waste and locked up the continent of Europe gave full play to the plantations of British Guiana.

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SECTION X

THE BAHAMAS

THE long line of the Bahamas, most northerly of the British West Indian colonies, stretches, more or less parallel to the north coast of Cuba, from the neighbourhood of Florida to the Turks and Caicos Islands. The many islands in the group make up a land area considerably more than half the size of Wales, with a population at the beginning of 1914 of barely 56,000. The chief town and seat of government is Nassau on the island of New Providence. Sponges and sisal hemp are among the principal products of the colony, its trade is mainly with its near neighbour, the United States, and Nassau, in normal times, is a winter resort for American visitors. The Bahamas have a long tradition of self-governing institutions, and the Lower House of the Legislature is an elected House of Assembly of 29 members, who have complete control of finance and taxation. A septennial Act of 1795 governed the life of the House of Assembly, and the colony followed the example of the Mother Country in extending, twice by Acts of 1917 and 1918, the term of the existing House, which had been elected in the summer of 1910 and held its first session in January 1911. When the war began the Governor was Mr. (now Sir) George Haddon Smith, K.C.M.G., who, in December 1914, was, to the great regret of the Bahamians, transferred to the Government of the Windward Islands. His successor was the then Governor of the Falkland Islands, Mr. (now Sir) William Allardyce, K.C.M.G., who reached Nassau in the middle of June 1915.[1]

When the war came, 'The Antient and Loyal Colony of the Bahamas' proved true to its historic title. Nassau depended for telegraphic communication with the outer world upon a small and recently established wireless system, and news for the public was not abundant. On the 3rd of August, however,

[1] The account which follows has been very greatly condensed from a most complete record of the Bahamas during the war, supplied for the purposes of this book at the request of the Bahamas Government by Mr. Frank Holmes.

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a Government notification of the suspension of the ordinary telegraphic correspondence, and the placing of guards of local police at important points without and near the city, told that war was imminent, and on the morning of the 5th it was known that the Empire was at war. The news was received with every sign of patriotism and confidence. On the 7th a special session of the Legislature was held and the wide power entrusted to the Governor by the speedily passed Proclamation Act, which authorized him on instructions from the Secretary of State to issue proclamations and gave those proclamations the full force of law, was equivalent to a whole-hearted vote of confidence in the Imperial Government, and was acknowledged as such by the Secretary of State.

The same Act authorized payment from the Public Treasury of all expenses incurred in carrying out the defence scheme of the colony. A defence scheme had been drawn up for the Bahamas, as for other colonies, but there was no Defence Force beyond the local constabulary. In 1916 a Bill was laid before the House for constituting a local volunteer force, not to exceed 200 in number, at an expenditure limited to £1,000 per annum, but the Bill failed to pass. Later in the year, however, after the visit of one of the ships of the Royal Navy, a Government notice was issued calling for volunteers between the ages of 18 and 40 to form a Volunteer Defence Force, and the force was constituted by proclamation issued under the Proclamation Act. In 1917 a 4·7 gun reached Nassau, and was mounted in a suitable position, in charge of a small detachment of Marines sent from Jamaica, while an anti-submarine patrol was established around the Western Islands of the group. The cost of home defence to the Government, up to the 30th of June 1919, amounted to a little short of £9,000. The many islands of the Bahamas and their configuration offered obvious attractions to German cruisers or submarines in the game of hide-and-seek. Evidence of the *Karlsruhe* was given early in the war by the drifting of one of her motor launches into Hope Town, a settlement on Abaco Island, and this proved to be the colony's one and only prize of war. Darkening of lights at Nassau and its sea approaches, together with patrolling of the channels in the west of the group and between the islands and the American mainland, told at a later date of apprehension of submarine activities; but

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the colony was kept safe, and the feeling of security was increased by periodical visits of ships of war.

Much more enthusiasm was shown for active service overseas than for measures of local defence. A public meeting held on the 4th September 1914, and presided over by the Governor, resulted in the formation of a Bahamas War Relief Committee, the able chairman of which was the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr. Harcourt Malcolm, K.C., O.B.E. One of its sub-committees was deputed to obtain volunteers for active service out of the colony. A large proportion of the islanders are sea-goers ; it was therefore thought wise in the first instance to enlist volunteers for service in the Royal Navy, and before September ended 225 had been enrolled. Early in 1915 they were offered employment as prize crews to take to England enemy ships condemned in West Indian ports, and great disappointment was felt when it was found necessary to cancel the offer.

Quite a number of young white Bahamians enlisted in various units of the Empire forces in or through Canada and at a later date in the American Army, but the Bahamas contingents to the British West Indies Regiment were mainly composed of coloured men. Before the regiment had been formally incorporated, when the anniversary of the beginning of the war came round, on the 4th of August 1915, it was determined at a public meeting to send a Bahamas contingent to the front. It was arranged with the Jamaica Government to send the contingent to Kingston, to be dispatched in company with the Jamaica men, and the rates of pay obtaining in Jamaica were adopted. To the sub-committee already mentioned was entrusted the work of enlisting and training recruits and collecting subscriptions towards the expenses. A sum of £1,315 was raised for a Bahamas Contingent Fund, a flag was provided by the Daughters of the Empire, the staff of which had once borne the colours of the old Bahamas Militia, and on the 9th of September the first contingent of 30 men left for Jamaica. There they were trained as a machine-gun section : after arrival in England they received further training, and were then drafted into the 2nd Battalion of the British West Indies Regiment. This initial effort had been wholly unofficial, but a strong feeling grew up that a larger contingent should be sent and that the Legislature should provide the funds.

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Accordingly, after an informal meeting with the members of the House of Assembly, the Governor called a special session of the Legislature on the 27th of September 1915, when a sum of £5,000 was voted for sending another contingent of 100 men. The same committee as before undertook the duty of enlisting, equipping, and dispatching the men, and on the 25th of November 105 Bahamians were embarked for Jamaica en route to England. The cost of the contingent landed in England was estimated at £3,000, while the expense of separation allowances was computed at about £1,200 per annum. Three days before they left Nassau, the regular session of 1915–16 was opened, and early in 1916 it was resolved to raise the total of the Bahamas contingents to 200 men and to maintain them at that strength, £2,000 being voted to cover the cost of another contingent of 65 men and of the monthly reinforcements required up to the end of the financial year on the 31st March 1916. This decision was subsequently embodied in the Bahamas Islands War Contingent Act 1916, which made provision for the payment of separation and disability allowances, pensions, gratuities to the members of the contingents and their dependants, and, in certain cases, return passages. This assumption of the burden of expenditure was warmly acknowledged by the Colonial Office.

The third contingent and first reinforcements, 87 in all, left on the 10th of May 1916, and subsequent drafts were as follows :

5 August 1916	78 men
29 June 1917	53 „
19 July 1917	51 „
30 July 1917	50 „
6 September 1917	32 „

making with 222 previously dispatched a total of 486,[1] among whom were 16 public officials. If to this total is added 80 Bahamians who went to, and enlisted in, Canada or the United States, generally at their own expense, 53 Bahamians living in England, British Honduras, or elsewhere, who also enlisted, and 50 Bahamian labourers from Panama who joined the British West Indies Regiment, the total number of Bahamians who went on active service was not far short of 700. In the colony about 1,800 all told offered themselves for service, and of those who enlisted in the colony 6 were killed in action,

[1] The numbers given on p. 335 are 441.

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3 died of wounds, and 28 from other causes. One man gained the D.C.M. for distinguished service in Egypt. The men were returned for demobilization between the months of April and November 1919, and each detachment of returned soldiers received an enthusiastic welcome. The total cost of recruiting, equipping, and dispatching the contingents, and of paying separation allowances and pensions, amounted, up to the end of June 1919, to a little short of £28,000, and in the summer of 1918 the House of Assembly authorized the expenditure of £1,000 for the payment of individual volunteers desirous of enlisting in Canada or the United States.

This expenditure was not the only contribution by the Legislature to the common cause. On the 8th of October 1914 a telegram reached the Colonial Office from the Governor to the effect that 'The Legislature, as representing the Colony of Bahamas, being justly proud of the action of His Majesty's Government in upholding the honour and plighted word of Great Britain, has voted £10,000 from public funds as a contribution to the expenditure of the war'. The formal vote was taken early in 1915, and, as the revenue for the financial year in which the grant was made was barely £77,000, it was a conspicuously generous gift. At a later date the Appropriation Acts of 1917 and 1918 gave to the British Red Cross 'one-half of the gross proceeds of the sale of the special issues of the one penny Queen's Staircase Stamp' during the financial years covered by those Acts, and up to the 30th of June 1919 the Red Cross funds received £1,016 from this source. In all, the contributions of the Colonial Legislature to war purposes were as follows:

	£
Cost of Contingents	27,621
Home Defence	8,655
Contribution to Home Government for war expenses	10,000
Half proceeds of Red Cross Stamp	1,016
	47,292[1]

In addition a grant of £240 was made to cover the cost of entertaining the returned soldiers, and in the prosperous year 1920 a bonus of £5 was voted to every member in the contingents who had served abroad.

[1] This statement does not include the sum of £1,000 voted to cover travelling expenses of volunteers wishing to enlist in Canada or the United States, but as the vote was only taken very late in the war, in the summer of 1918, presumably but little was expended.

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Among public subscriptions, the Bahamas War Relief Committee collected in 1914 over £3,000 for the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund. That sum was sent to the fund and a small balance was spent on Bahamian fruit forwarded for distribution to the British Red Cross. The British Red Cross received enthusiastic support from Sir William Allardyce, and the sums contributed were as follows :

1915.	Collected by the Governor	2,600
1916.	Collected by the Governor in conjunction with the Nassau Chamber of Commerce	2,126
1917.	Collected by the Governor in conjunction with the Bahamas War Relief Committee	2,508
1918.	Collected by the Governor in conjunction with the Bahamas War Relief Committee	3,082
	Total . . .	10,316

The subscription for 1915 resulted in the provision of six motor ambulances for the use of the Red Cross, the cost of the first, a challenge to other subscribers, being defrayed by a public spirited citizen of Nassau, Dr. J. Baird Albury. The Red Cross was strongly supported by the women of the Bahamas. Lady Allardyce initiated and was President of a Bahamian Red Cross Guild, of which Mrs. Johnson, M.B.E., was Honorary Secretary, and there was collected by the Guild no less than a sum of £3,642, with which materials were purchased and some 44,000 articles shipped across the sea. Over 31,000 articles for the same purpose were supplied by a long-established and influential ladies' organization, the National Chapter for the Bahamas of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, of which Mrs. Lofthouse, M.B.E., was President, and which was to the fore in supporting the Bahamas War Relief Committee. Among many other objects of its beneficence was Belgian relief, and the Belgians were aided, too, by the Bahamian League of the Cross of Geneva, originally founded by Mrs. Charles Menendez, by a Belgian relief fund started by Miss Mary Moseley, M.B.E., the Editor of the *Nassau Guardian*, and by the St. Andrew Society of the Bahamas, the oldest society in the colony, presided over by Sir James Sands, President of the Legislative Council. Subscriptions were also raised for the Montenegrin Red Cross Relief Fund and for the French Red Cross. A Ladies' Committee organized a West Indian Flag Day for the benefit of the British West Indies

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Regiment, the receipts being sent to the West Indian Contingent Committee in London, in connexion with which Miss Moseley was an untiring worker; and Queen Mary's and various other funds were not forgotten. The poorest gave willingly and—for their circumstances—lavishly. Writing to the Secretary of State in December 1914, the Governor said:

'The majority of the inhabitants of these Islands are poor. Many, by contributing, I am sure, have not only denied themselves luxuries, but in many cases, the necessaries of life, but to have refunded their offerings would have given pain. There have been instances of seamstresses and market women earning a few shillings a week insisting on giving either three shillings or two shillings. There have been other instances of people who had buried gold which they would not have unearthed except in dire need, but to be one of the subscribers to the War Fund they have dug up their hidden treasure; this has been the case in the Out Islands and accounts for many of the contributions of £1. 0*s.* 6*d.*, which is the (present) exchange of the American $5 gold piece.'

The Annual Report on the colony for 1918–19 gave as an illustration of the readiness of Bahamians to subscribe to war charities, that in 1918 the sum of £360 was contributed to the Red Cross fund by the people, 5,000 in number, of one district, the Arthur's Town district, in the island of San Salvador.

In all, the war contributions of the Bahamas, so far as they have been recorded, from Government and people, amounted to nearly 700 men, £60,000 in cash, and gifts of clothing, fruit, and other articles to the number of 87,000.

The Bahamas started the war in great prosperity. The revenue for the financial year which ended on the 31st of March 1914 had exceeded that of all recent years, and there was a large balance in hand. Four-fifths of the revenue came from customs duties, and in view of the successful outcome of the past year the *ad valorem* duties had been reduced. With the war came a falling off in revenue and trade, and general depression was accentuated by a prolonged drought in the out islands. Subsequently trade revived, the trade and revenue returns were swelled by abnormally high prices, and, though the closing of the Bank of Nassau, in December 1916, added to the difficulties of the Government, it was only in the last year of the war, and after the signing of the Armistice, that the financial position became serious. Shortly afterwards, in

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1920, the adoption of prohibition in the United States brought riches to the colony unparalleled since the days of blockade running during the American Civil War, and additional revenue far exceeding any sums required to make good the expenses of the war. During the war the excess expenditure was met by two loans for £30,000 each, under Acts of 1915 and 1918. The House of Assembly did not respond readily to the calls for war taxation, or to the suggestion that the base of revenue should be widened beyond the range of customs duties, and the only war taxes were a 10 per cent. surtax on customs duties imposed in March 1915, an export tax on sisal of a farthing per pound imposed in 1917, and in 1918 war tax stamps on postal matter, cheques, and Bills of Lading. Normal expenditure was curtailed to the utmost, and with borrowed money and the moderate help of these extra taxes the colony weathered the war.

The bulk of the trade is always, of necessity, with the United States, and the effect of the war was to divert trade still further from the United Kingdom to America. For the first two years a contract with an American Steamship Company ensured a virtually weekly service with New York, regular export of the colony's products, and regular importation of foodstuffs. At first the sponge and sisal industries, the staple industries of the Bahamas, were greatly depressed, and there was also distress in the out islands of Inagua and Long Cay, which had been points of call for the ships of the Hamburg-American line and had supplied stevedores for these German vessels. One of two Acts passed in the special session at the beginning of the war was an Emergency Relief Act, under which a small Emergency Committee was constituted to deal with foodstuffs imported by the Government, and continued to work until the end of March 1915. After that date the first depression began to pass away, high prices were realized for sponge and sisal, there were good seasons, abundant crops of ground provisions, and for two years the Bahamas hardly felt the effects of the war. Then the entry of the United States into the war profoundly affected the fortunes of the colony. There was an end to the regular steam service, lighting restrictions at Nassau, which had been imposed by Admiralty order, combined with war conditions in the United States to put an end for the time being to the influx of

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American visitors into Nassau in the winter season, and the prices of imported foodstuffs rose to a very high figure. A food campaign was instituted by the Government in April 1917 with a view to extending the cultivation of maize and other foodstuffs; in the middle of December 1917 a local food control committee, with wide powers, was constituted, and before the end of December the Governor visited Washington to secure the continuance of sufficient food supplies from the United States. His visit resulted in an arrangement whereby licences were issued for regular monthly supplies in 1918. Nevertheless, this last year of the war was a trying one for the Bahamians. All available shipping was needed for the transport of American troops to France, and there was in consequence a great decrease in trade; shortage of foodstuffs held up the sponging fleet, and island labour was drawn off to emergency war work at Charleston. The operations of the Food Control Committee were constantly extended, food stocks were in some instances commandeered, and maximum prices were fixed. The signing of the Armistice did not at once relieve the situation, but gradually conditions became more normal, and in June 1919 the committee ceased to exist.

The first and the last part of the war tried the colony most, the middle part, especially the year 1916, was a time of prosperity. Had the war continued longer, conditions in these islands, largely dependent as they are upon outside sources for many or most of the necessaries of life, might have been very serious, but, as events turned out, there was little actual hardship, and the taxpayers of the colony, as compared with taxpayers elsewhere in the Empire, came off very lightly. In view of their isolation and their immunity from invasion, the consistent patriotism of the Bahamians and their readiness to serve and give was very marked, and in voting supplies to meet the calls of the war the representative Assembly adequately interpreted the attachment of the community to the British Empire.

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SECTION XI

BRITISH HONDURAS

BRITISH HONDURAS, of the size of Wales, lies on the east coast of Central America, with the Republics of Mexico and Guatemala for its neighbours. Very sparsely inhabited, it had in 1914 a population of rather over 40,000, of whom more than 10,000 were resident in the chief settlement, Belize, and only about 2,000 were of European descent. The colony originated in woodcutting, which is still the principal industry, supplemented by fruit, whose chief market is at New Orleans. So far as the woodcutters were in old times under British protection or control, this was exercised from Jamaica, and the connexion between British Honduras and Jamaica continued till 1884, when British Honduras was given a separate Governor. The history of the settlement, before it was formally constituted a British colony, made for self-government, and in 1914 there was still an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council. The Governor when the war began was Sir Wilfrid Collet, K.C.M.G. (as he subsequently became), who had previously been Colonial Secretary of the colony. In March 1917 he left to be Governor of British Guiana, and Mr. R. Walter, the Colonial Secretary, acted as Governor until April 1918, when the new Governor, Mr. W. Hart Bennett, C.M.G., previously Colonial Secretary of the Bahamas, arrived. Mr. Hart Bennett died at the beginning of the following September, and Mr. Walter, now C.M.G., was again acting as Governor when the war came to an end.

A Volunteer Ordinance was in force in British Honduras and at the beginning of the war there was a volunteer force in existence, consisting of two companies and a detachment of mounted infantry, about 230 efficients in all. Immediately after the declaration of war, some 200 more, including retired volunteers, joined the force, an extra company was formed and an engineers' corps. The force was called out on active service during the war and was assiduously trained. On Christmas Day 1914, 405 men were at Belize ready for

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immediate action. Major Elphinstone in this initial stage was in command, and made preparations for defence in case of attack, watch being kept on the coast by the Customs Service and lighthouse men. After the first three months of 1915, when it was known that German raiders had been accounted for, tension was relaxed as regards home defence, and the feeling grew, especially in Belize, that British Honduras should contribute her share of men to the Imperial Forces. In 1916 an ordinance was passed by which the volunteer force was styled the Territorial Force. In 1917, after the United States had entered into the war, rumours of German intrigues in Mexico led to a call for new recruits, which was well answered, and to the establishment of additional posts. In this year, too, the Belize Rifle Reserve Corps was recognized by ordinance. In 1918 there were further rumours pointing to possible attacks from submarines at sea, or raids across the land frontiers, the Territorial Force was reorganized under the advice of an officer sent out from England, the police force was made liable to military service in the event of imminent danger of invasion or other sufficient emergency, and a Territorial Force (compulsory service) ordinance was passed, introducing the ballot for needed recruits. The Armistice, however, was declared before the ordinance had been brought into operation, and British Honduras is proud of the fact that she maintained her own defences and contributed her quota to the Imperial Forces on a voluntary basis.

As has been said, in 1915 public feeling ripened in favour of sending a British Honduras contingent across the seas with the British West Indies Regiment. The Governor made an offer and the Home authorities suggested that 100 men should be sent. This number was quickly obtained, and after strenuous training in the months of September and October under the charge of the late Lieut.-Colonel Slack, Major Cran, afterwards, as Officer Commanding, Lieut.-Colonel James Cran, O.B.E., and Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) Matthews, at first Instructor and then Adjutant, the first contingent, consisting of one officer and 128 others, under the command of Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) R. H. Furness, Registrar-General of the colony, left on the 4th of November 1915 and arrived in England about three weeks later. They created a favourable impression, for shortly afterwards a cable came asking for another 400 to be

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ready by the 31st of the following March. By the end of February over 700 had offered their services, of whom 400 were selected and put into a training camp, where, owing to delay in transport, they remained till the middle of July. The time, however, was not wasted, for by the date when they embarked, the 14th of July, numbering four officers and 407 men, the raw material had been converted into a thoroughly disciplined body, proficient in drill and musketry, and with a considerable number proficient as machine gunners and signallers. The advantage of this was shown by the fact that only a month after their arrival on the Eastern Front their officers all received promotion, to date from the time of leaving Belize, and the whole of the contingent were seconded from the British West Indies Regiment to the Inland Water Transport in Mesopotamia and detailed for special duty in connexion with the river transport. The deaths on active service among members of the contingent numbered 27, among them Captain A. N. Usher, prior to the war a clerk in the Colonial Secretary's office, who won the Military Cross and bar.[1] Various others were awarded the Meritorious Service Medal or were mentioned in dispatches. In addition to the officers and men, between 530 and 540 in number, who served in the contingent, it was estimated that about 40 joined other units of the British forces in different theatres of war, five of whom were killed. The total contribution, therefore, of British Honduras in men to the war was nearly 580.

Though a small and a poor community, the people of British Honduras gave as they could to the war. Soon after it began, subscriptions were made for the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund, for Belgian relief, and for the British Red Cross. Later in the war 'Our Days' were held for the Red Cross as in other colonies. When the Imperial War Loan was raised in 1916, the Colonial Government telegraphed for £10,000, which was in part distributed among individual investors in the colony. The total amount subscribed to war charities, other than small amounts given to the Overseas Tobacco Fund, the Overseas Club Aeroplane Fund, and the Purple Cross Fund, was nearly $66,000, and not far short of five-sixths of this sum was subscribed through one agency or another to the Red

[1] Captain Usher was originally in the contingent, but was transferred to the Royal Fusiliers.

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Cross, among the agencies being a Lady Workers' Red Cross fund. Over $10,000 were subscribed to the Belgian Relief Fund, and other beneficiaries were the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund, Lord Roberts's Memorial Fund, Lord Kitchener's Memorial Fund, and the Montenegrin Relief Fund. Gifts in kind were represented by walking-sticks for soldiers. There was no lack of patriotic and willing war workers. The Hon. A. R. Usher, M.B.E., and Mrs. Usher raised considerable sums on behalf of the contingent. The firm of Drs. Cran and Davis gave free medical attendance to the dependants of members of the contingent while the latter were on active service. Mrs. Cran, wife of Lieut.-Col. James Cran, collected a large amount of money, spent in comforts for the men, and supplied them with a brass band. The Rev. R. Cleghorn, minister in charge of the Baptist Mission, was most active and successful in recruiting, and the Belize Estate and Produce Company, as agents for Thos. and Jas. Harrison of Liverpool, carried in their steamers, free of charge, parcels for the men on service. The special military expenditure incurred by the colony amounted to $342,000, including $205,000 directly for the war, $83,000 for the contingent, and $54,000 for non-effective military charges.

When the war came British Honduras was fairly prosperous, there was a substantial surplus in the Treasury, and the year 1914 had so far been a good year. A great set-back followed. Revenue and trade declined; employers of labour could not obtain advances to pay their labourers and reduced their staff, with the result of much unemployment; the prices of imported foodstuffs rose greatly. Ordinances were passed and steps taken by the Government to meet the crisis, the position being as far as possible made clear to employers and labourers alike. There was a twofold need, to increase the amount of local food production and to give employment, and by an agricultural development ordinance to operate during the war and for one year afterwards, the Governor was empowered to provide holdings for agriculturists to grow food crops. Another ordinance gave power to regulate the sale and distribution of foodstuffs. Currency difficulties were met by making the silver then actually in circulation unlimited tender, and additional war taxation was facilitated by an ordinance giving power to after the tariff. It was in the form of additional import and

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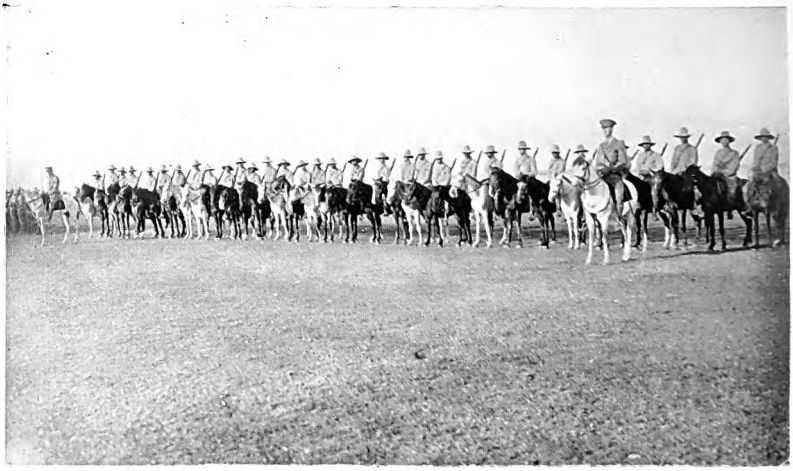

BRITISH HONDURAS MOUNTED INFANTRY

BRITISH HONDURAS

Logwood for Aeroplane Propellers

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export duties, together with stamp duties, that the required revenue was raised, the export duty on chicle or sapodilla gum being, for instance, trebled in the course of the war. The depression continued through 1915 and into 1916, but in the latter year the revenue returns were much better and trade revived; the revival was fully maintained in 1917, and in 1918 there was a great increase in revenue and a record volume of trade, the value of the trade being greater than in 1913, the year before the war. The main cause for the turn of the tide was the fact that in the latter half of the war very large quantities of mahogany were bought from the colony by the Admiralty, experience having shown that the mahogany of British Honduras, which, it may be noted, largely comes from outside the actual soil of the colony, was peculiarly suitable for use in the construction of aeroplane propellers. It was a good illustration of the way in which each part of the Empire had its own particular sphere of usefulness, and in turn benefited by what it was able to contribute to the common cause. Similarly it will be noted how the military contingent from this land of creeks and rivers was told off for inland water transport work in Mesopotamia. The demand for mahogany implied good wages for labourers and no lack of employment, which had been a disturbing factor at the beginning of the war. All the while local production of food-stuffs was steadily stimulated. An Agricultural Commission was appointed in 1917, and early in 1918 a food control ordinance was passed and a food control committee appointed, of which the Chief Justice was chairman. The soaring prices of necessaries continued till the end, being partially met in the case of the more poorly paid government servants by a war bonus, and in the last months of the war an epidemic of influenza added to the difficulty of the position. Notwithstanding, when the Armistice came, it found in British Honduras a colony which had weathered the war without serious distress, and with no little profit, having a record for the war years of self-defence and substantial service to the Empire.[1]

[1] In the above the editor has been indebted to a note on the British Honduras Defence Force and Contingent by Lieut.-Col. J. Cran, O.B.E., to whom, as to Captain Matthews, these forces owed much. He is also indebted for supplementary notes to Mr. R. Walter, C.M.G., late Colonial Secretary of the colony. The photographs were kindly supplied by Lieut.-Col. Cran.

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PART IV

BERMUDA

ABRIDGED FROM A FULLER ACCOUNT

BY

PROFESSOR GEORGE S. PATTON, M.A.

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BERMUDA

THE group of islets known as Bermuda, or the Bermudas, in the mid-Atlantic, some 700 miles from New York, 800 from Halifax, and 1,000 from the West Indies, is, with the exception of Gibraltar, the smallest separate unit in the British Empire. With an area of 19½ square miles it is between one-seventh and one-eighth of the size of the Isle of Wight, it has a population of 21,000, more than 1,000 to the square mile, and two-thirds of the population are coloured. Small as it is, Bermuda has a strongly marked individuality. On the one hand it is, and always has been, the home of a little self-governing community; the Bermuda House of Assembly, which kept its tercentenary in August 1920, being, next to the House of Commons, the oldest representative Chamber in the Empire. On the other hand it is one of the fortresses of the Empire. Here is a fortified coaling station and an Admiralty dockyard, and in normal times there is a battalion of the line in the islands, which was relieved during the early part of the war by a Canadian battalion. The Governor is always a military officer of high rank. In 1914 the Governor was Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Bullock, K.C.B., who had greatly distinguished himself in the South African War. In June 1917 he was succeeded by General Sir James Willcocks, a man of many honours, who had commanded the Indian Corps on the Western Front at the beginning of the war. No point of the Empire could have been more secure than Bermuda, and no community in the Empire more conscious of security. Far removed from the fighting zone, with warships and troops to hand and tried soldier governors responsible for their safe keeping, doubly secure when their nearest neighbour, the United States, joined the Allies, the Bermudians had no ground for anxiety and no strong stimulus to self-defence. What they had was centuries of unbroken British tradition and inherited patriotism quickened by the presence of naval and military establishments, which brought profit as well as security to the islands.

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[1]The strategic importance of Bermuda as a naval base and coaling station quickly made itself apparent upon the outbreak of war. The possibility of attack by German raiding cruisers was always present in the earlier months, but, though there were the usual alarmist reports from time to time, anticipations were never realized, and throughout the war the peace of the islands was unbroken. As one of the bases of the North American and West Indies Squadron, Bermuda was a constant port of call for British cruisers, and from Bermuda Admiral Cradock sailed on his last voyage which ended at Coronel. Subsequent Commanders-in-Chief of the squadron made the islands their head-quarters for varying periods, and the harbours were hardly ever without the presence of the White Ensign. French warships operating in conjunction with the British Squadrons put in from time to time and the escorting cruisers of the Atlantic Convoy also paid frequent visits for refit or replenishment of stores. The floating dock was in constant use and the whole dockyard establishment was kept working at full pressure. After the United States entered the war an American naval dépôt was established, which remained until the 1st April 1919. Large numbers of American warships, including considerable flotillas of anti-submarine craft, passed through on their way to European waters and on their return; and a flotilla of 30 or 40 craft was no uncommon sight. An excellent club for the use of American naval ratings was established under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. by the energy of American and other residents, who generously extended its facilities to all the allied navies.

In addition to its usefulness as a naval station, the colony played an important part as a coaling port and port of refuge for the merchant marine of the allied nations and for neutral ships engaged in allied trade. In 1917, 97 ships were supplied with over 15,000 tons of coal, besides considerable quantities of stores; and many vessels were repaired. This alliance of the colony with the work of the Navy and Mercantile Marine revived its traditions as a naval base on which its inhabitants

[1] The following pages are abridged from a most valuable and exhaustive account of Bermuda during the war forwarded by the Governor and written in 1919 for the purpose of this book by Professor George S. Patton, M.A., Director of Education, who had access to official records and expressed his acknowledgement to Mr. W. E. Jackson, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, and Mr. F. G. Gosling, Assistant Colonial Secretary.

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love to dwell, and was a source of pride and satisfaction to a people whose history has always been closely associated with the sea and the men who sail upon it.

The local forces of the colony consisted of the Bermuda Volunteer Rifle Corps and the Bermuda Militia Artillery, the latter being a body of coloured troops under white officers. The strength of the Volunteer Rifle Corps at the declaration of war was 231. Its average strength, not including the active service contingents, was 273. During the war 47 N.C.O.s and men were permitted to leave the local forces in order to join up in Canada for overseas service, and one for service with the Motor Boat Patrol in European waters. In addition somewhat more than 100 Bermudians joined other forces, chiefly Canadian, for foreign service. A good many received commissions and many more were killed. In estimating the value of the local guard and outpost duties performed in Bermuda by members of the Rifle Corps, it is to be remembered that nearly all of them had to carry on their civil in addition to their military work, and that, without their services in connexion with the necessary defence and routine duties of the garrison, it might have been necessary to call upon the Home authorities for additional troops.

The first active service contingent of the B.V.R.C., consisting of one officer, Captain R. J. Tucker, and 88 other ranks, were trained in Bermuda from the 8th December 1914 until their embarkation for England on the 1st May 1915. They landed in France on the 23rd June, and after a week at the base were sent up the line and attached to the 1st Lincolns, then in the neighbourhood of Ypres, where they spent the remainder of the summer, doing five days in the line and five days out. In October they were moved farther south to the neighbourhood of Armentières, and in April 1916 they were again moved, this time to the Somme in front of Fricourt near Albert. Here they were in action twice in the first week of the battle. The whole contingent was mentioned in orders, and two men were promoted to sergeant, one winning a decoration as well. The contingent saw much hard fighting, and at Gueudecourt, on the 25th September 1916, suffered over 50 per cent. of casualties. By this time its strength had become so reduced that it was considered advisable to have the survivors trained as Lewis gunners, in order that they might

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amalgamate with the 2nd Contingent and thus continue the 'Bermudas' as a separate unit. The 2nd Contingent, consisting of one officer, Lieutenant (since Captain) H. G. L. Trimingham, and 37 other ranks, embarked on the 20th May 1916, joined the 1st Contingent in October, and the whole were in the line as reserve gunners until the last days of 1916. The 2nd Contingent were originally trained as Vickers machine gunners, but, on arrival in England, it was found that the heavy machine guns had been formed into a separate Machine Gun Corps, and that battalion machine gunners were equipped with Lewis guns. The 2nd Contingent, however, very soon mastered the new weapon and the majority qualified as 1st Class Lewis Gunners. When the enemy was forced to retire from his old line south of Arras in March 1917, the two contingents were in action, and they then remained in the Arras sector until they moved north to take part in the fighting around Passchendaele. They also shared some of the hardest fighting in 1918 during the enemy drives towards Amiens, Kemmel, and Paris. An officer who knew them states that their high qualifications as Lewis gunners were tacitly admitted, that company commanders frequently asked for Bermuda men, and never had cause to regret their choice or the high esteem in which they held the Bermudians.

Out of a total of 127 non-commissioned officers and men in the two contingents, 14 received commissions. One (H. Noble) was promoted to sergeant for gallantry in the field and was shortly afterwards killed in action. Six were awarded the Military Medal, viz. Sergeant (since 2nd Lieutenant) P. S. Ingham, Sergeant A. Churm, Sergeant F. Medeiros, Corporal Sewell, and Privates L. Powell and H. C. Wilson, while Lce.-Corpl. Bruce received the Belgian Croix de Guerre. Forty were killed in action or were missing, and 34 were discharged as medically unfit. A dispatch to the Governor from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 21st December 1917, enclosed a report from the Commander-in-Chief upon the services of the Bermuda contingents; and, in requesting that it should be published in the colony, Mr. Long wrote: 'The people of Bermuda will read with pride the testimony borne by Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig to the valuable services rendered by the Contingents from the Colony which I have been most gratified to note.' The following was Lord Haig's report:

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'A Contingent has been attached to the 1st Battalion of the Lincolnshire Regiment for over 2½ years. Originally they joined as a complete Machine Gun Unit and were found invaluable when there was a scarcity of this weapon in Flanders. Since the formation of the regular Machine Gun Companies, the Bermuda Volunteers have been transformed into Lewis Gun Sections, in which sphere they have done good work. Physically and intellectually they are as fine men as any to be found in their Brigade and their conduct has always been exemplary. It is hoped that many more soldiers of this stamp can be sent from the Island of Bermuda.'

When the news of the declaration of war reached Bermuda, the Bermuda Militia Artillery were assembled at St. George's for their annual training of 41 days. The strength of the corps on assembling was 2 regular and 5 Militia officers, and 3 regular and 189 Militia other ranks. The officers were Captain W. B. Cadell, R.G.A. (since temporary Brig.-Gen., R.A.F.); Captain C. H. Tucker, B.M.A. (now Major, retired); Captain T. M. Dill, B.M.A. (since temporary Major, R.G.A., a member of the Colonial Assembly, and of the Executive Council of Bermuda); Lieutenant L. P. Smith, R.G.A. (afterwards temporary Major, killed near Cambrai, December 1917); Lieutenant F. S. H. Outerbridge, B.M.A. (since Captain); 2nd Lieutenant S. Hamilton, B.M.A. (since temporary Major, R.G.A.); 2nd Lieutenant H. C. Smith, B.M.A. (since temporary Lieutenant, R.G.A.). On the 6th August the Militia Artillery moved to the various stations designated under the defence scheme then in force. In December Captain Tucker was released from army service and resumed his civil duties as Colonial Postmaster. In January 1915 Captain Cadell was ordered to England and the command of the Militia Artillery and of the battery at Ireland Island was taken over by Captain T. M. Dill. By a sad accident in February 1915 four members of the corps, who were engaged in the construction of an Admiralty wireless station, were killed. Upon learning on the 1st November 1915 that the offer of a contingent from the Bermuda Militia Artillery would be accepted, Captain Dill and 2nd Lieutenants S. Hamilton and H. C. Smith volunteered for overseas service. Recruiting meetings were held throughout the colony, and by the beginning of 1916 over 100 men then serving in the Bermuda Militia Artillery had similarly volunteered, and about an equal number from the civilian popula-

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tion, many of whom were time-expired men of the Militia. Intensive training was begun in January 1916, and by the end of April the contingent was reported ready for embarkation. The rank and file had all been attested in the Royal Garrison Artillery for the duration of the war and all officers received temporary commissions in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, Captain Dill being promoted temporary Major, and 2nd Lieutenants Hamilton and H. C. Smith promoted Lieutenants. 2nd Lieutenant C. Gosling was also appointed from the ranks of the Bermuda Volunteer Rifle Corps to a direct temporary commission in the Royal Regiment.

The contingent, now known as the Bermuda Battery, R.G.A., embarked on the 28th May 1916, and on the 9th June landed at Devonport, where it received orders to equip for immediate service in France. It arrived on the Ancre in the early morning of the 24th. Here the Battery, which now consisted of 4 officers and 206 other ranks, was broken up into four detachments of approximately equal size and attached to certain Corps at the following places, viz. Major Dill at Bouzincourt, near Albert; Lieutenant Hamilton at Raincheval; Lieutenant Smith at Soult Dump on the outskirts of Albert; 2nd Lieutenant Gosling at Corby sur Somme. Practically every one in the battery was in a position to take part in the attack on the Somme on the morning of the 1st July 1916. The unit was employed on the Somme throughout the summer and fall of 1916 and then, on account of not being able to stand the rigours of the northern winter, was moved first to Abancourt, lying between Rouen and Amiens, and subsequently to Marseilles, where it arrived on the 12th December. In the climate of the south of France the health of the troops was rapidly restored. The unit left Marseilles on the 4th April 1917, arrived on the 8th at St. Pol, and from there moved to Bruay and Villers-au-Bois, where it was during the attack on Vimy Ridge on the 9th April. One great advantage in 1917, as compared with 1916, was the fact that the unit worked as a whole and was not, except under special circumstances, broken up into small parties. In the newly occupied territory in the vicinity of Thelus, near the famous Labyrinth Trench, they had orders to arrange the whole of the ammunition supply for the neighbouring batteries, and were thanked for their work by Army Head-quarters. They were next moved, on

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the 23rd May, to the Second Army area and attached to the 52nd Heavy Artillery Brigade at Le Don Camp near Ploegsteert. They were here during the attack on the Messines–Wytschaete Ridge on the 7th June, having several men wounded and gassed. On the 17th June the unit was moved to the outskirts of Poperinghe, and a week later to between Brandhoek and Vlamertinghe. Here it remained for the next four and a half months, handling ammunition at some of the newly established advanced dumps, which were subject to daily shell-fire and nightly bombing, and there were several casualties. On the 22nd October the unit, which had been reinforced on the 30th June by the arrival of Lieutenant Wrigg and 2nd Lieutenant J. T. Trimingham and 40 other ranks, moved to St. Jean near Ypres, to form an advanced ammunition dépôt in preparation for the projected attack on Passchendaele. About the middle of January 1918 it was moved out of the line to the rest station at Barentin near Rouen, and on leaving the Ypres salient the following letter was received from VIIIth Corps Head-quarters :

VIII Corps A 1179.

O.C. Bermuda R.G.A.

Your unit has been working on ammunition supply in this area since April 1917, and, though sustaining severe casualties and latterly working under the most trying climatic conditions, the work done has been consistently good.

On your leaving the VIII Corps, the Corps Commander wishes his appreciation conveyed to all ranks.

(Signed) P. F. FITZGERALD,
Lt.-Colonel.

The Corps was at Barentin until the 7th July, when it was again entrained for the front, going first to Aire for a few weeks and then into Belgium, where it remained until the Armistice. At the end of October Lieutenant Wrigg was awarded the M.C. and Sergeant Sergeant the M.M. for gallantry whilst in charge of a party keeping up the supply of ammunition for batteries under fire in the vicinity of Menin. Gunners Manders and Knights had already been awarded the M.M. for gallantry on the occasion in October 1917 when Bombardier Place and Gunner Swan were killed by shell-fire at St. Jean. The following extract from Lord Haig's Report already mentioned refers to the Artillery contingent :

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'This Contingent served with the Canadian Corps during the operations in May and June subsequent to the capture of Vimy Ridge. They were employed on Heavy Ammunition Dumps and great satisfaction was expressed with their work. Though called upon to perform labour of the most arduous and exacting nature at all times of the day and night, they were not only willing and efficient but conspicuous for their cheeriness under all conditions. Their officers rendered valuable service in the management of the Dumps. The unit also worked on Ammunition Dumps from the end of June to the beginning of September in another Corps. On more than one occasion the Dumps at which they were employed were ignited by hostile shell fire, and much of their work was done under shell fire. Their behaviour on all these occasions was excellent, and commanded the admiration of those with whom they were serving. In fact, the manner in which they carried out their work under all conditions was strikingly good.'

Comforts for Bermudians on active service were at first supplied wholly from private contributions, and were administered in England mainly by Mrs. Tucker, wife of the officer commanding the first Bermuda contingent. When the contingents were increased, it was decided to form in London a special Bermuda Committee to take over the work in co-operation with the West Indian Contingent Committee, who had already given most valuable help, and accordingly, the Bermuda Contingents Committee, consisting of Bermuda ladies and others interested in Bermuda who were then resident in London, was formed in February 1917. Mr. Joseph Rippon, O.B.E., Mr. Boswell Tucker, and Miss Gladys Trott (now Mrs. Trimingham) were Honorary Chairman, Honorary Treasurer, and Honorary Secretary respectively. There was a visiting sub-committee: bi-monthly supplies were sent to the contingents: the wounded in the hospitals were visited and supplied with comforts, and every care was taken of convalescents and soldiers on leave.

To the cost of personal allowances to and comforts for the members of the active service contingents, the Legislature, from 1916 onwards to the 31st December 1918, contributed £6,300. Up to the same date £7,027 were expended from public funds for allowances to the dependants of the men on active service, and £1,063 for disability pensions and pensions to widows and children of the fighting men. £1,423 were voted for equipping the first contingent and transporting it

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to the nearest Canadian port, and £517 for paying half-salaries to members of the public service who joined the active service contingents. In all £16,330 were spent from public funds upon the fighting men up to the end of 1918. For extraordinary war expenditure, more especially the cost of such measures as were deemed requisite for the security of the islands, over £24,000 were voted and nearly £23,000 were spent up to the end of 1918; while, under a War Contribution Act of 1914, the colony undertook to contribute the approximate equivalent of £40,000 towards the cost of the war by payment from its revenues of an annual sum of £3,450 for 15 years from the 1st January 1915. In 1915 a sum of £500 was voted for Belgian relief, and in December 1917 a similar sum for relief of the sufferers from the Halifax disaster. Including expenses in connexion with shipping, in round numbers the war may be said to have cost the Colonial Government £150,000, of which one-half was directly contributed to the cost of the war and the other half was the result of transportation difficulties.[1]

Very generous were the private Bermudian contributions to war funds and charities, and various organizations, formed in connexion with them, did excellent work. The Governor's Fund was initiated by Sir George Bullock in January 1915 before the departure of the first active service contingent. Its object was partly to provide comforts for the men on service, partly to help their dependants in cases not covered by the separation allowances provided by the Government. A total sum of £777 was collected, of which £740 had been spent when the fund was closed on the 15th June 1917 and the balance of £37 handed over to the '600 Club'. This latter agency was started in March 1916, under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, for the benefit of the dependants of the men on active service. It was due to a feeling that the Colonial Legislature had not made sufficient provision for the fighting men and their families, and its scope included all Bermudians on active service whether in the Bermuda contingents or in other units. The chairman was Mr. John P. Hand, who received the honour of M.B.E.; the membership far exceeded the 600 originally asked for, and the total funds subscribed by weekly payments by the members of 6*d.* and 1*s.* and by

[1] The Annual Report on Bermuda for 1918 gives the expenditure on actual war services up to the end of that year as £57,137.

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collections, amounted to nearly £4,000, the cost of administration being about 2 per cent. A very valuable and effective women's organization was the Bermuda Chapter of the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, the order which has so conclusively proved its strength and beneficence in Canada. The Society was formed in Bermuda in 1911, and the war called it into active life, the Honorary Treasurer being Miss L. C. Paschal, and the Honorary Secretary Miss H. M. S. Middleton. It handled in all £4,924, distributed in money or in articles made to various war charities. Soldiers on active service, Red Cross funds, military hospitals, including one established on Boaz Island for medical treatment of men in the British West Indies Regiment, recreation rooms for soldiers and sailors, all benefited by the work of these Bermuda ladies. Among other similar agencies were the Bermuda Branch of Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, the Bermuda League of the Empire, the St. John's Guild, and the Ministering Children's League. Of the charities to which contributions were sent (the Governor's Fund has already been mentioned), the British Red Cross received over £6,900, the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund (Honorary Treasurer, Mrs. Popham Lobb) over £900, a Machine Gun Fund over £1,000, while Belgian relief, Belgian Red Cross, the Lord Kitchener National Memorial Fund, a Tobacco Fund for the Bermuda Volunteer Rifle Corps, and various other funds, all received substantial help.

The fact that Bermuda is an Imperial fortress necessitated special precautions in time of war. Shortly after the declaration of war certain Martial Law Regulations were put in force, and these were from time to time amended, extended, or rescinded, as circumstances warranted. Arms, ammunition, and explosives were withheld from the civilian population; prohibited areas were defined on both land and water; postal and telegraphic communications with the outside world were rigidly censored; there was censorship also of the local press, but it was liberally administered; passports were required for leaving and permits for entering the colony; resident aliens were required to furnish particulars and to carry certificates of registration; a few persons of alien origin were confined to restricted areas, a few were deported, and a few of doubtful loyalty were required to report themselves at stated intervals; trading with the enemy was prohibited; a Supply Control

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Board was established with powers to control all articles of food; owners of boats and vehicles which plied for hire and boatmen and hack-drivers were required to take out licences; the hours for the sale of liquor were restricted, and treating and credit were prohibited. These regulations were not burdensome. Both General Bullock and General Willcocks exercised their exceptional powers in a spirit of moderation which was recognized by the whole community. The war legislation of the colony was of various kinds. There were laws to curtail expenditure to the utmost and laws, to some of which reference has already been made, authorizing extraordinary war expenditures. Laws for providing additional revenue included an amending Customs Tariff Act of 1915 which imposed a surtax of 10 per cent. upon all import duties, while a later Customs Tariff Act of 1917 increased by amounts varying from 25 to 100 per cent. the specific duties upon alcoholic liquors and tobacco, and another Customs Act in January 1918 imposed a duty of 2*s.* a ton upon coal which had previously been on the free list. Stamp duties on cheques and bills of lading were imposed by an Act of 1917, and a postal Surtax Act of 1918 doubled the penny postage for letters to places outside the colony. Among non-financial Acts due to the war were Trading with the Enemy Acts, a Sale of Bread Act which standardized the size of loaves for sale, a Liquor Control Act, Daylight Saving Acts, and a Supply Control Act of 1918 which constituted a Supply Control Board. This Board was called into existence by the increase in the cost of living and the danger of shortage of necessaries, especially foodstuffs, which became markedly apparent in November 1917. A Mission of the Colonial Secretary to Washington in December of that year resulted in an arrangement with the United States Government for reasonable supplies, and in order to carry it out a Supply Control Board was constituted with power to fix prices, if necessary. With the help of an Advisory Committee of Merchants nominated by the Chamber of Commerce, a Licensing System for importers was devised, and for certain articles, notably bread and flour, prices were fixed. The all-round increase in the cost of foodstuffs was estimated at from 80 to 90 per cent. An Agricultural Commission had in the meantime been appointed towards the close of 1916 and Home production was stimulated by a food production campaign,

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development committees and sub-committees being constituted in the different parishes.

The prosperity of Bermuda depends in normal times upon three factors, the presence of military and naval establishments, the export of agricultural products, almost entirely vegetables, and the tourist traffic, New York being at once the chief market for the vegetables and the point of departure for tourists going south to escape the winter. The first of these three sources of well-being was not affected by the war, work at the dockyard and in connexion with the coaling of ships being plentiful, but difficulties and cost of transport in the later years of the war greatly affected the export trade, while in 1917 and 1918 the influx of tourists practically ceased and the leading hotels were closed. Early in 1917 the regular steamer plying between Bermuda and New York, which had been specially built for the passenger traffic and the carriage of vegetables, was requisitioned for war purposes and was taken off in June after the bulk of the crops of 1916–17 had been shipped. It was for a while replaced by an inadequate substitute; in March 1918 the Admiralty lent a warship to be converted temporarily into a merchant vessel, and arrangements were also made to allow surplus Bermudian produce to be carried to New York on returning empty colliers. Meanwhile, in February 1918, two out of the four steamers plying between Halifax, Bermuda, and the West Indies were taken off. The additional cost of transport was met, not by a Government subsidy, but entirely by increased freight rates, the maximum rates from New York rising to six times the normal rates, and to New York being doubled. On the other hand, the demand in New York for Bermuda produce was good, higher prices were obtained than before the war, and a shortage in the 1916 crop of potatoes in the United States gave the Bermuda market gardeners in 1917 an unprecedented price for their crop and made 1917 in this respect a record year.

Bermuda experienced much inconvenience through the war, but suffered no serious hardships except in the sacrifice of valuable lives. All profit from tourist traffic was killed out, but the coaling trade and work at the dockyard was fully maintained, agriculture was more important than ever, and there was very little unemployment. The whole scale of living was reduced among the poorer classes to a minimum, but there

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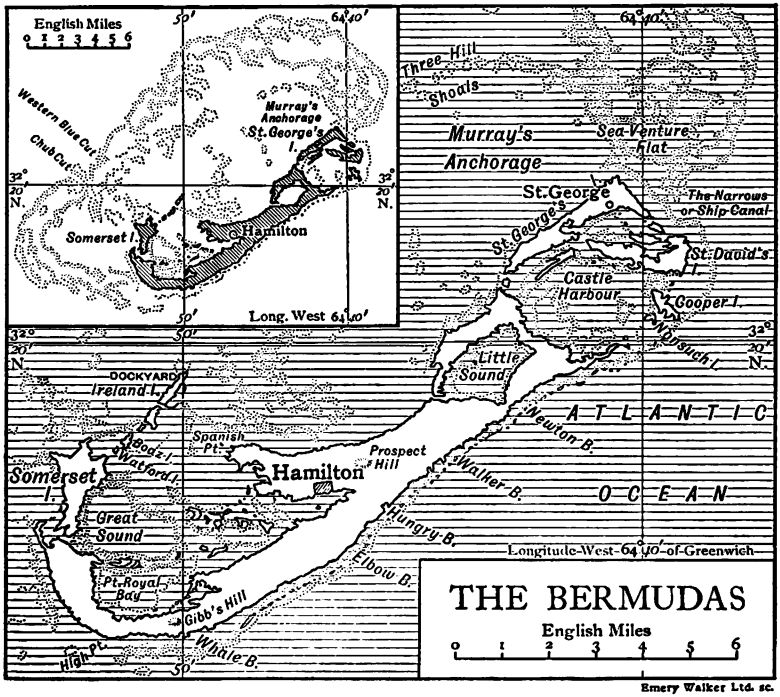
was no lack of subsistence and the figures of revenue and expenditure showed a reasonable equilibrium, the decrease in the amount of imports being compensated for, as far as the revenues were concerned, by the higher rates of import duties. The need for labour in the islands, and the paramount importance of maintaining and extending to the utmost possible extent the growth of food supplies, largely accounts for the



fact that, even in proportion to its small population, the contribution of Bermuda to the fighting forces of the Empire was somewhat inadequate. A War Registration Act was passed in 1917 authorizing the compilation of a register of all males between the ages of 18 and 60, but an attempt to follow it up with a Compulsory Military Service Act in September 1918 failed. For the rest, as the colony was at the beginning of the war, so it was at the end, an outpost of the Empire, fully content with its position in the Empire, heart and soul in the cause, and never doubting as to the issue.

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PART V

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS

BY

MR. T. N. GODDARD, M.B.E., B.A.

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FALKLAND ISLANDS: STANLEY HARBOUR

FALKLAND ISLANDS VOLUNTEERS ON PARADE

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THE FALKLAND ISLANDS

THE Falkland Islands lie in the South Atlantic, 480 miles to the north-east of Cape Horn, and 1,000 miles due south of Monte Video. Their first authenticated discovery was by a British sailor, John Davis, in 1592, final British possession of the islands was taken in 1832–3, and, under an Act of 1843, they were constituted a British Colony of the ordinary type. At the beginning of the war Mr. (now Sir) W. Allardyce, whose previous service had been in Fiji, was Governor. At the end of 1914 he was appointed Governor of the Bahamas and his successor was Mr. (now Sir) Douglas Young, whose previous service had been in the West Indies and Mauritius.

The group consists of East Falkland with an area of 3,000 square miles, West Falkland with an area of about 2,300 square miles, and about 100 small islands making up rather over 1,000 square miles, in all about sixth-sevenths of the size of Wales. The climate is cold but healthy; strong winds blow almost continuously, mainly from the west, and in general physical appearance the islands strongly resemble some parts of the north-west of Scotland and the Shetland Islands, consisting of long ridges of bleak, treeless moorland, interspersed with outbreaks of rock. The coarse grass is well suited for sheep, sheep-farming has been for many years the sole industry, and the whole country is split up into large farms or sheep-runs, each of which has a head-quarters settlement on the coast at a point convenient for shipment of produce to Stanley. A steamer, subsidized by the Government, makes periodical trips round the islands, shipping the wool and stock, and carrying passengers and mails. On land there are no roads outside Stanley, travel is on horseback, but, since the war began, telephones have multiplied between the different farms and West Falkland is now connected by wireless with Stanley. Stanley was made the head-quarters of the colony in 1844, being named after Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is on the north-east of East Falkland and stands on the southern shore of an almost landlocked harbour, the inner basin of the inlet known as Port William. The ground rises

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rapidly behind it and the crest of the hill, where the town ends, opens out on to peat banks and moor. It is the only town in the islands, with Government House, Town Hall, and Cathedral. At the beginning of the war it had about 900 inhabitants, the total population of the islands, according to the 1911 census, being only 2,272, mainly of Scottish blood. Another thousand human beings (including those on board ship) were credited to South Georgia (where Sir Ernest Shackleton now lies buried), which is a dependency of the Falkland Islands lying 1,000 miles to the east, with an area of about 1,000 square miles. It is bleak and snowbound, but the centre of an important whaling industry, which has given it a resident magistrate and customs officers and a certain number of residents throughout the year. In the summer months whale-fishing brings visitors also to other dependencies of the colony, including the South Shetland, South Orkney, and South Sandwich Islands, Graham's Land, and the territory extending southwards from it to the pole. The whaling industry in its present dimensions dates only from the beginning of the present century and has been largely due to Norwegian enterprise. The results are seen in the trade returns of the Falkland Islands. The total trade in 1851 was valued at £17,500, in 1917 at £3,128,209. The colony is most prosperous financially, the annual revenue greatly exceeds the expenditure, there are large balances in hand and there is no public debt.

When the question of constituting an organized colony in these remote islands was under consideration, among the arguments used and accepted were the advantages which would result to British merchant shipping plying round Cape Horn and to the South American Squadron of the Royal Navy operating on either side of South America. The war proved the soundness of the reasoning, even under altered modern conditions, and illustrated the value of the islands with their good harbours, as a place of refuge, a naval base, and an outpost of the Pacific.

In August 1914[1] the only armed force in the colony was the

[1] The following account, forwarded by the Governor in 1919, was written by T. N. Goddard, M.B.E., B.A., Chief Clerk in the Colonial Secretariat of the Falkland Islands and Clerk to the Councils. The preceding paragraphs were in part condensed from a preliminary portion of his narrative.

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Falkland Islands Volunteer Force, a very small, immobile, and indifferently equipped body. Its head-quarters were at Stanley, but its only remaining officer was Lieut. H. M. S. Turner, Government Medical Officer on the West Falkland Island. The force held periodical drills, parades, and musketry practice, and provided guards of honour when occasion demanded, but it was more a social and rifle club than an effective military body capable of withstanding any serious attempt to invade the colony.

When war was declared, however, immediate steps were taken to convert the force into a mobile and efficient unit, able to make some substantial resistance in the event of a landing being made anywhere near Stanley. In the course of a few days Lieut. Turner arrived from West Falkland and took command (with temporary rank of Major) under the direction of the Governor. Another executive officer was commissioned to assist him, Lieut. (subsequently Captain) T. N. Goddard, and officers were appointed to the medical, transport, commissariat, and pay departments of the force. Recruits in large numbers, relatively to the population, offered themselves for enrolment. Men from all parts of the colony secured temporary release from their employers and hastened to Stanley; government officers and employees, with few exceptions, offered their services, in some cases being accepted, in others being directed to remain at their posts. Farm managers and station owners co-operated by allowing every man who could be spared, and who desired to do so, to report at Stanley, and further came forward with horses in large numbers and materials for use in the transport department.

Within a very few weeks the Volunteer Force consisted of over 160 men with two executive officers, two medical officers, a transport and veterinary officer, a commissariat officer, and a paymaster. The old non-commissioned officers of the Force retained their rank and were supplemented by the appointment of others who had seen service with the Regular Army or the Marines or had received training with the Territorial Force. Within two months of the declaration of war, of the total number enrolled over sixty were mounted and stationed at selected points on the coast immediately surrounding Stanley, the main unmounted body of the force being held in

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reserve in Stanley. The force by this time possessed an efficient signalling section, which proved its worth at the time of the Falkland Islands battle.

As was to be expected at a time of high tension, when it was known that hostile naval forces were constantly in the neighbourhood, plentiful false alarms and rumours circulated and on many occasions the force was turned out and stood to arms through the night. If it was never called upon to fire a shot in defence of the colony, at any rate its members had in the early days of the war many opportunities of practising night operations with the almost certain conviction that any moment might bring them under the enemy's fire. With few exceptions, the volunteers were good shots, good riders, knew the country all over, and could take cover, so that, if the appearance they presented upon the parade ground was sometimes far from smart, they readily fell into line in the matter of skirmishing, night work, and scouting.

During the first few months the civil life of the community was considerably changed. Business and ordinary occupations were largely suspended. Stanley was more crowded with a semi-permanent population than it had probably ever been before. The demand for bedding, food, building timber, and other necessaries taxed the resources of the stores to the uttermost and supplies had in many cases to be supplemented by loans from private individuals. The working-man resident in Stanley depends on his own labour for his fuel and his garden produce and, as far as was possible without impairing the efficiency of the force, the men who had enrolled were given leave to see to their peat and their gardens, but a considerable amount of dislocation and in some cases hardship could not be avoided throughout the last months of 1914 and the early months of 1915. At the beginning of October 1914, H.M.S. *Good Hope* (Captain P. Francklin) flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock, K.C.V.O., arrived at Stanley after paying short calls at New Island and Port Edgar on West Falkland. H.M.S. *Canopus* (Captain H. S. Grant) followed within a few days, and both vessels remained in Port William until the 22nd October, when the *Good Hope* left the colony, followed by the *Canopus* on the next day.

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During the visit of the *Good Hope* to Stanley the Admiral was a familiar figure, walking about accompanied by his terrier, or strolling up to Government House, and to many of us who had the opportunity of knowing him the news of his loss came as a bitter personal blow. It is pleasant to reflect that his last stay on land was spent at a British port and was a happy and peaceful respite from arduous duties performed under difficult circumstances since the outbreak of war. On the advice of the Admiral, immediately after his departure, in view of information relative to the movements of the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* and other German vessels whose names were then (at any rate in Stanley) only conjectured, the Governor strongly urged all heads of families to send their women-folk and children away from Stanley to the outlying farm stations and shepherds' houses throughout the islands. This advice was very largely followed, and in a few days the inter-insular steamship *Falkland*, the Falkland Islands Company's tug *Samson*, and a steam whaler which happened to visit Stanley at the time, had conveyed to other parts of the colony practically every woman and child in Stanley. In this matter again the residents in the 'Camp' stations showed their readiness to co-operate with and assist the administration in every possible way. Housing accommodation is not an easy matter in the camps and at considerable personal inconvenience and in many cases financial loss the station managers with one accord threw open their stations to as many women and children as could possibly be accommodated. Stanley in ordinary times is remarkable for the number of children that may be seen playing about the streets and for the number of women walking about on household or other business. The appearance and life of the town was now completely altered. It seemed in some respects a city of the dead. No one was to be seen in the streets except military patrols with an occasional civilian going to his work. Even on fine evenings the men were not to be seen; they were no doubt to be found at home, wrestling with the problems of household management and cooking, which in the past they had had little occasion to study.

Since the beginning of the war the Government Wireless Station had rendered invaluable services to the colony and to His Majesty's Naval Forces, and had silenced the few

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critics who doubted whether the expense of its erection would ever be justified. On the 4th November it reported considerable excitement among the wireless stations dotted up and down the Argentine coast and that rumours were afloat of a big naval action having taken place off Coronel. Information was forthcoming a few minutes afterwards from Buenos Aires to the effect that it was reported in that city from authoritative sources that the British Cruiser Squadron consisting of H.M.S. *Good Hope*, *Glasgow*, *Monmouth*, and *Otranto*, had encountered the German ships *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, *Dresden*, *Leipsic*, and *Nürnberg*, and had been heavily defeated with the loss of the *Good Hope*, the *Monmouth*, and probably the *Glasgow*, the *Otranto* having made good her escape. On the following day the actual facts of the battle were officially announced, and now began a period of extreme stress and anxiety for the small and isolated colony. It was rightly conjectured that, as soon as the German squadron had had time to repair any damages (and there were few who imagined that the German vessels would be able to sink the *Good Hope* and the *Monmouth* and yet come off scathless), Admiral von Spee would round Cape Horn and make a descent upon the Falkland Islands, either for purposes of permanent occupation, or at the very least to secure a temporary coaling base. That this was his intention has since been demonstrated. Look-outs were redoubled, signal codes were revised, alternative preparations were made and rehearsed, and every possible precaution was taken to oppose to the utmost an enemy landing.

On the 8th November the *Glasgow*, accompanied by the *Canopus*, whom she had encountered many miles to the south of the scene of the battle, arrived in Stanley harbour on their way to Monte Video. Their stay was very brief, as the British Naval Command had every reason to believe that the German ships were in hot pursuit, but temporary repairs to the *Glasgow* were essential and they were short of coal. A large party of the Volunteer Force was told off to assist in the coaling and at about 3 p.m., the British vessels left the harbour to proceed at full speed to Monte Video.

In no colony in the Empire, probably, during the course of the war were the inhabitants so tempted to despair as the Falkland Islanders when they saw their naval forces in full

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retreat, leaving them, apparently, almost completely defenceless in the face of the certain approach of overwhelming enemy forces. Nevertheless, the period of stress and strain had been so long that the intensifying of the strain was less noticeable than it would have been had it come suddenly, and although the direst forebodings were on all sides entertained, the members of the Volunteer Force and such of the male population as were then left in Stanley maintained outwardly an attitude of cheerful indifference as to the events of the next few hours. Instructions from the Admiralty were, by the Governor's directions, published to the effect that all able-bodied men were to take up such arms as might be available and to oppose a resolute front to the invaders, drawing them if possible into the interior and keeping out of range of the ships' guns. Provisions and ammunition were placed at various points along the probable line of retreat and all preparations were made to remove the seat of government inland. Four days after the hasty departure of the *Glasgow* and the *Canopus*, smoke was reported from the south-west at about 2 p.m., and shortly afterwards the lighthouse reported a warship rapidly approaching the Seal Rocks and shaping her course to enter Port William. No ensign was then visible and some temporary defect in the wireless station prevented communications between the ship and the shore. After a time of considerable anxiety, in which final preparations were made to withstand a landing, the White Ensign was discerned and the vessel was made out to be the *Canopus* turned back to the Falkland Islands while on her way to Monte Video, with instructions to oppose the approaching enemy by every available means. It was learnt afterwards that the anxiety experienced on shore was equally felt on board, owing to the silence of the Government wireless station when called up and the complete absence of any sign of life at Stanley. With the arrival of the *Canopus* hope revived and we felt that, though the odds were tremendously against us in gun and man power, still we might, by mobility and knowledge of the country, make the capture of the islands a costly business for the enemy. The *Canopus* took up a position at the east end of Stanley Harbour and, settling herself firmly upon the mud at low water, became a stable and immovable fort with her 12-inch guns laid and directed by

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telephone communication from the hills above. Immediately after her arrival a strict examination service was instituted in the port and the adjacent waters, under the supervision of the Harbour Master (Captain G. M. Smith). A minefield was also laid in Port William.

As day followed day and the enemy failed to appear, many said that official intelligence was for once at fault, that it was no part of the German plan to attack the islands. So strong did this feeling become that a large number of the women and children in the camps returned to Stanley under the impression that all danger was past. Nevertheless, this view was not countenanced by the Government, nor did it affect the military measures taken for the defence of the colony. There were many memorable days during the last few weeks of 1914, but perhaps, with the single exception of the 8th December, no day will live longer in the minds of Falkland Islanders than the 1st December, for on that day the whole colony was thrown into mourning by the drowning of eight members of the Volunteer Force. The accident took place at a narrow neck of water at the east end of Stanley harbour and was caused by the capsizing of a flat-bottomed boat used as a ferry for taking working parties from the south to the north side of the water where an important defence work was in progress. The bodies, when recovered, were buried with full military honours. Possibly, in the general mourning which followed, the danger of an enemy attack was to some extent forgotten, but not many days passed before the crisis came.

Late at night on the 6th December wireless signals were intercepted by the station. Being in cipher they could not be read, but the operator on duty judged them to proceed from British ships of war. At 10.30 on the following morning (7th December) those of us who were fortunate enough to be sufficiently high up to have a view of Port William saw a glad sight. H.M.S. *Invincible* (Flag-Captain P. T. H. Beamish), flying the Flag of Vice-Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee, K.C.B., C.V.O., C.M.G.; H.M.S. *Carnarvon* (Flag-Captain H. L. d'E. Skipwith), flying the Flag of Rear-Admiral A. P. Stoddart; H.M.S. *Inflexible* (Captain R. F. Phillimore); H.M.S. *Kent* (Captain J. D. Allen); H.M.S. *Cornwall* (Captain W. M. Ellerton); H.M.S. *Glasgow* (Captain

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J. Luce); H.M.S. *Bristol* (Captain B. H. Fanshawe), and H.M.S. *Macedonia* (Captain B. S. Evans), came up the harbour. For some days previously the harbour had been filling with colliers which, as soon as the fleet had anchored, proceeded alongside and coaling began. It went on throughout the afternoon, and, as night fell, for the first time for many weeks, the whole population of Stanley (for practically all the women and children had by this time returned) slept a quiet sleep, under the sure protection of the British Navy. The following day was the memorable 8th December, and before attempting briefly to describe the events on shore during the action, it will be well to quote Admiral Sturdee's official report of the battle:

(A)

'At 8 a.m. on Tuesday, the 8th December, a signal was received from the signal station on shore:

"A four-funnel and two-funnel man-of-war in sight from Sapper Hill, steering northwards."

At this time the positions of the various ships of the squadron were as follows:

Macedonia: At anchor as look-out ship.
Kent (guard ship): At anchor in Port William.
Invincible and *Inflexible*: In Port William.
Carnarvon: In Port William.
Cornwall: In Port William.
Glasgow: In Port Stanley.
Bristol: In Port Stanley.

The *Kent* was at once ordered to weigh, and a general signal was made to raise steam for full speed.

At 8.20 a.m. the signal station reported another column of smoke in sight to the southward, and at 8.45 a.m. the *Kent* passed down the harbour and took up a station at the entrance.

The *Canopus*, Captain Heathcoat S. Grant, reported at 8.47 a.m. that the first two ships were 8 miles off, and that the smoke reported at 8.20 a.m. appeared to be the smoke of two ships about 20 miles off.

At 8.50 a.m. the signal station reported a further column of smoke in sight to the southward.

The *Macedonia* was ordered to weigh anchor on the inner side of the other ships, and await orders.

At 9.20 a.m. the two leading ships of the enemy (*Gneisenau* and *Nürnberg*), with guns trained on the wireless station, came within range of the *Canopus*, who opened fire at them across the low land at a range of 11,000 yards. The enemy at once hoisted their colours and turned away. At this time the masts and smoke of the enemy were visible from the upper bridge of

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the *Invincible* at a range of approximately 17,000 yards across the low land to the south of Port William.

A few minutes later the two cruisers altered course to port, as though to close the *Kent* at the entrance to the harbour, but about this time it seems that the *Invincible* and *Inflexible* were seen over the land, as the enemy at once altered course and increased speed to join their consorts.

The *Glasgow* weighed and proceeded at 9.40 a.m. with orders to join the *Kent* and observe the enemy's movements.

At 9.45 a.m. the squadron—less the *Bristol*—weighed, and proceeded out of harbour in the following order: *Carnarvon*, *Inflexible*, *Invincible*, and *Cornwall*. On passing Cape Pembroke Light, the five ships of the enemy appeared clearly in sight to the south-east, hull down. The visibility was at its maximum, the sea was calm with a bright sun, a clear sky, and a light breeze from the north-west.

At 10.20 a.m. the signal for a general chase was made. The battle cruisers quickly passed ahead of the *Carnarvon* and overtook the *Kent*. The *Glasgow* was ordered to keep two miles from the *Invincible*, and the *Inflexible* was stationed on the starboard quarter of the flagship. Speed was eased to 20 knots at 11.15 a.m. to enable the other cruisers to get into station.

At this time the enemy's funnels and bridges showed just above the horizon.

Information was received from the *Bristol* at 11.27 a.m. that three enemy ships had appeared off Port Pleasant, probably colliers or transports. The *Bristol* was therefore directed to take the *Macedonia* under his orders and destroy transports.

The enemy were still maintaining their distance, and I decided, at 12.20 p.m., to attack with the two battle cruisers and the *Glasgow*.

At 12.47 p.m. the signal to "Open fire and engage the enemy" was made.

The *Inflexible* opened fire at 12.55 p.m. from her fore turret at the right-hand ship of the enemy, a light cruiser; a few minutes later the *Invincible* opened fire at the same ship.

The deliberate fire from a range of 16,500 to 15,000 yards at the right-hand light cruiser, who was dropping astern, became too threatening, and when a shell fell close alongside her at 1.20 p.m. she (the *Leipzig*) turned away, with the *Nürnberg* and *Dresden* to the south-west. These light cruisers were at once followed by the *Kent*, *Glasgow*, and *Cornwall*, in accordance with my instructions.

The action finally developed into three separate encounters, besides the subsidiary one dealing with the threatened landing.

(B) *Action with the Armoured Cruisers.*

The fire of the battle cruisers was directed on the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*. The effect of this was quickly seen, when at 1.25 p.m., with the *Scharnhorst* leading, they turned about

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7 points to port in succession into line ahead and opened fire at 1.30 p.m. Shortly afterwards speed was eased to 24 knots, and the battle cruisers were ordered to turn together, bringing them into line ahead, with the *Invincible* leading.

The range was about 13,500 yards at the final turn, and increased, until, at 2 p.m., it had reached 16,450 yards.

The enemy then (2.10 p.m.) turned away about 10 points to starboard and a second chase ensued, until, at 2.45 p.m. the battle cruisers again opened fire; this caused the enemy, at 2.53 p.m., to turn into line ahead to port and open fire at 2.55 p.m.

The *Scharnhorst* caught fire forward, but not seriously, and her fire slackened perceptibly; the *Gneisenau* was badly hit by the *Inflexible*.

At 3.30 p.m. the *Scharnhorst* led round about 10 points to starboard; just previously her fire had slackened perceptibly and one shell had shot away her third funnel; some guns were not firing, and it would appear that the turn was dictated by a desire to bring her starboard guns into action. The effect of the fire on the *Scharnhorst* became more and more apparent in consequence of smoke from fires, and also escaping steam; at times a shell would cause a large hole to appear in her side, through which could be seen a dull red glow of flame. At 4.4 p.m., the *Scharnhorst*, whose flag remained flying to the last, suddenly listed heavily to port, and within a minute it became clear that she was a doomed ship; for the list increased very rapidly until she lay on her beam ends, and at 4.17 p.m. she disappeared.

The *Gneisenau* passed on the far side of her late flagship, and continued a determined but ineffectual effort to fight the two battle cruisers.

At 5.8 p.m. the forward funnel was knocked over and remained resting against the second funnel. She was evidently in serious straits, and her fire slackened very much.

At 5.15 p.m. one of the *Gneisenau's* shells struck the *Invincible*; this was her last effective effort.

At 5.30 p.m. she turned towards the flagship with a heavy list to starboard, and appeared stopped, with steam pouring from her escape-pipes and smoke from shell and fires rising everywhere. About this time I ordered the signal 'Cease fire', but before it was hoisted the *Gneisenau* opened fire again, and continued to fire from time to time with a single gun.

At 5.40 p.m. the three ships closed in on the *Gneisenau*, and, at this time, the flag flying at her fore truck was apparently hauled down, but the flag at the peak continued flying.

At 5.50 p.m. 'Cease fire' was made.

At 6 p.m. the *Gneisenau* heeled over very suddenly, showing the men gathered on her decks and then walking on her side as she lay for a minute on her beam ends before sinking.

The prisoners of war from the *Gneisenau* report that, by the

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time the ammunition was expended, some 600 men had been killed and wounded. The surviving officers and men were all ordered on deck and told to provide themselves with hammocks and any articles that could support them in the water.

When the ship capsized and sank there were probably some 200 unwounded survivors in the water, but, owing to the shock of the cold water, many were drowned within sight of the boats and ship.

Every effort was made to save life as quickly as possible, both by boats and from the ships; life-buoys were thrown and ropes lowered, but only a proportion could be rescued. The *Invincible* alone rescued 108 men, fourteen of whom were found to be dead after being brought on board; these men were buried at sea the following day with full military honours.

(C) *Action with the Light Cruisers.*

At about 1 p.m., when the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* turned to port to engage the *Invincible* and *Inflexible*, the enemy's light cruisers turned to starboard to escape; the *Dresden* was leading and the *Nürnberg* and *Leipzig* followed on each quarter.

In accordance with my instructions, the *Glasgow*, *Kent*, and *Cornwall* at once went in chase of these ships; the *Carnarvon*, whose speed was insufficient to overtake them, closed the battle cruisers.

The *Glasgow* drew well ahead of the *Cornwall* and *Kent*, and at 3 p.m. shots were exchanged with the *Leipzig* at 12,000 yards. The *Glasgow's* object was to endeavour to outrange the *Leipzig* with her 6-inch guns and thus cause her to alter course and give the *Cornwall* and *Kent* a chance of coming into action.

At 4.17 p.m. the *Cornwall* opened fire, also on the *Leipzig*.

At 7.17 p.m. the *Leipzig* was on fire fore and aft, and the *Cornwall* and *Glasgow* ceased fire.

The *Leipzig* turned over on her port side and disappeared at 9 p.m. Seven officers and eleven men were saved.

At 3.36 p.m. the *Cornwall* ordered the *Kent* to engage the *Nürnberg*, the nearest cruiser to her.

Owing to the excellent and strenuous efforts of the engine-room department, the *Kent* was able to get within range of the *Nürnberg* at 5 p.m. At 6.35 p.m. the *Nürnberg* was on fire forward and ceased firing. The *Kent* also ceased firing and closed to 3,200 yards; as the colours were still observed to be flying in the *Nürnberg* the *Kent* opened fire again. Fire was finally stopped five minutes later on the colours being hauled down, and every preparation was made to save life. The *Nürnberg* sank at 7.27 p.m., and, as she sank, a group of men were waving a German ensign attached to a staff. Twelve men were rescued, but only seven survived.

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The *Kent* had four killed and twelve wounded, mostly caused by one shell.

During the time the three cruisers were engaged with the *Nürnberg* and *Leipzig*, the *Dresden*, who was beyond her consorts, effected her escape owing to her superior speed. The *Glasgow* was the only cruiser with sufficient speed to have any chance of success. However, she was fully employed in engaging the *Leipzig* for over an hour before either the *Cornwall* or *Kent* could come up and get within range. During this time the *Dresden* was able to increase her distance and get out of sight.

The weather changed after 4 p.m. and the visibility was much reduced ; the sky was overcast and cloudy, thus assisting the *Dresden* to get away unobserved.

(D) *Action with Enemy's Transports.*

A report was received at 11.27 a.m. from H.M.S. *Bristol* that three ships of the enemy, probably transports or colliers, had appeared off Port Pleasant. The *Bristol* was ordered to take the *Macedonia* under his charge and destroy the transports.

H.M.S. *Macedonia* reports that only two ships, steamships, *Baden* and *Santa Isabel* were present ; both ships were sunk after the removal of the crew.'

It is not easy to describe the excitement which prevailed in Stanley during the action and immediately before and afterwards. When smoke was reported to the south-west and it became clear that shipping of some kind was approaching, there were few who could bring themselves to believe that the almost impossible had happened and that the enemy was with amazing punctuality walking into the trap so carefully planned for him. Many were the conjectures as to the identity of the ships : 'A few more colliers probably' ; 'The Japanese crusiers come round from the Pacific looking for the Germans, and knowing as little of their whereabouts as we do' ; 'Argentine ships of war having a look round' ; 'New Zealand Shipping Company's vessels coming round the Horn in convoy', and so on. Even when it was known that the Naval Command had concluded that the enemy really and truly was present many still shook their heads, 'No such luck, they're too cute for that.' However, all conjecture was ended when at 9.20 a.m. the *Canopus* from her position in the inner harbour opened fire. When the leading enemy vessels had come within easy range of the Government wireless station,

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the men on duty there received orders to retire towards Stanley, and during this retirement had reached a point in a straight line between the *Canopus* and the enemy at the moment when the former opened fire ; they were, therefore, in the unique position of being able to see both the attacker and the attacked, neither of whom could see the other. One could almost see surprise and consternation writ large over the hulls of the enemy vessels as they heeled over in a rapid turn to get out of range. Twelve-inch shells dropping just short of bow and stern, with no indication of whence they came, must have caused a little revision in the German plans. The taking of the Falkland Islands was not going to be undisputed after all. The firing of the *Canopus's* guns was the signal for an immediate exodus from Stanley of all who could possibly get away. Practically the whole population raced to the top of the ridge of land to the south of the town, whence they could secure a view of both our own ships and the enemy. The hill was black with spectators whose only hope was that the British ships would get away in time to beat the enemy under their eyes ; but this was not to be, and ignorant wailings at the apparent delay of our vessels in getting under weigh were many. Nevertheless the onlookers were rewarded by a magnificent spectacle, as ship after ship of the British squadron cast loose her colliers, weighed her anchors, and proceeded down the harbour at ever-increasing speed after the now retreating foe.

As the *Glasgow*, lying at anchor in the inner harbour, cast loose, seemed to take the Narrows at one bound, and raced down the harbour, smoke belching from her four funnels, and an ever-widening bow wave mounting her stem, a cheer went up from the excited watchers, which seemed to give full expression to the pent-up feelings of thankfulness and joy following on so many weary weeks of watching and strain. For was she not our own ship ? Had she not been in and out of our waters numberless times ? Had we not all of us personal friends on board ? and was she not now overhauling the slower vessels which had started sooner, and actually leading the fleet into action ?

But even yet there was no certainty of our absolute and immediate deliverance, at any rate to our uninitiated minds. Had not the enemy secured too great a lead ? Would the still

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fine morning hold fair or would the fogs come down and snatch the prey from our grasp? The enemy was out of sight and our ships were hull down, but never a man left his position on the top of the ridge, save a few who were sent for provisions for the day. While daylight lasted and there was any chance of seeing anything, there we were going to stay.

Just upon one o'clock, with nothing in sight and the day still clear and fine, came the first dull boom of opening fire, and from thence onwards till dusk it seemed that the air was shaken by the mighty salvos of the battle cruisers, and then for a time all was still. The wireless station had been reoccupied and the operators reported the frantic efforts of the German ships to 'jamb' our signals and the upward soaring note of the British wireless rising and rising until it reached a clear high piercing note, to which the German ships could not attain. Then at last even the wireless signals ceased, and after a pause one British vessel sent out into the evening air 'God save the King', others re-echoed it, and all was still again. This silence was hard to bear. What had happened? After a short wait came a message telling of the sinking of the *Scharnhorst* and the *Gneisenau*, followed later by the news of the destruction of the *Leipzig*.

One by one our ships returned in the evening. Only the *Kent* remained unaccounted for, and of her no news had been received. But anxiety about her was relieved, and a further victory added to the list, when at about 10 p.m. she arrived in harbour, with her wireless aerials shot away, and reported that she had sunk the *Nürnberg*. Thus only the *Dresden* was left, and she had been able to slip away early in the action. During the morning of the action the approach of three colliers or transports was reported from Fitzroy, a settlement some twenty miles to the west of Stanley, and their movements were accurately described by telephone messages, thus enabling H.M.S. *Bristol* and *Macedonia* to be dispatched to destroy them. These messages were sent by the wife of the manager of the sheep station of which Fitzroy is the head-quarters, Mrs. R. S. Felton. She was alone on the settlement at the time with her two maid-servants, Christina Goss and Marian Macleod, all the men of the station, including the manager, being absent on sheep work. On news being received by telephone from Stanley that enemy vessels had

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been seen approaching Stanley, one of the maid-servants rode to the top of a hill behind the house to find out if anything could be seen of them, and returning reported to Mrs. Felton the presence of the transports or colliers just off the settlement; thereafter the maids by turns rode to the hill-top and observed the movements of the enemy ships, while Mrs. Felton telephoned the reports to Stanley. The ships came very close in and it appeared that they contemplated a landing. For her coolness and courage in making valuable and accurate reports in the presence of considerable danger, and entirely unprotected, Mrs. R. S. Felton was given a present of plate by the Admiralty and subsequently received the O.B.E., while her two maids also received presents of plate.

There was no organized celebration after the victory. Possibly the strain had been too long and too severe to permit of any one who had been through it feeling more than a profound and peaceful thankfulness that the main danger had been providentially averted. Moreover, the *Dresden* was still at large and, until she was accounted for, there could be no relaxation of the unremitting watch to be kept by the land forces in the colony.

Before His Majesty's ships left, a largely attended military funeral took place, at which those who had lost their lives on the *Kent* were buried with full military honours. The funeral was attended by the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief of the squadron, and was preceded by the band of the *Inflexible*. Before the ships left, also, many of the inhabitants of the colony had an opportunity of seeing over those which had been in the hottest of the fighting, and of obtaining some idea of the destructive power of modern naval guns. For many months afterwards, however, the colony was never without a ship of the regular or auxiliary naval forces, which remained in the outer harbour and acted as guardship. The King Edward VII Memorial Hospital, which had been partly built from public subscription and completed earlier in 1914, was for the first time thrown open after the battle and was placed under naval control to admit the wounded from the ships.

After the excitement had to some extent died down, life became more quiet than it had been since the beginning of the war. The same vigilance and care was maintained,

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but the town assumed a more normal appearance and little of event took place until the 15th March 1915, when news came that the *Dresden* had been surprised and sunk off Juan Fernandez Island in the Pacific. This was an occasion for general rejoicing throughout the colony.

In May 1915 the S.S. *Ismailia* and *Freshfield* arrived at Port Stanley with materials, technical staff, and labour for the erection of a high-power naval wireless station. The construction was at once begun, and the difficult problems connected with housing so large a body of men in an already overcrowded town were satisfactorily solved. The station was completed on the 5th of April 1916. In March 1915 the command of the Volunteer Force was relinquished by Major H. M. S. Turner, who later went to England, and Lieut. T. N. Goddard took temporary charge until, on the 15th May 1915, Captain F. J. Newnham arrived from England to assume command. Shortly afterwards the work of partially demobilizing the force was begun. A large proportion of the men were released from military service and permitted to resume their civil occupations on condition of returning to active service at once on being summoned, and from that time the Volunteer Force, to all intents and purposes, consisted of those members of the force who were employed in Stanley. The outposts were withdrawn and arms and ammunition of all released men were recalled. In January 1916 H.M.S. *Lancaster* (Captain J. R. Segrave) arrived and began the work of landing and placing in selected positions around Stanley heavy naval guns capable of withstanding an attack by sea. Parties of marines were left to provide guns' crews for these batteries, and in this work they were assisted by selected members of the Volunteer Force. In September 1915 a submarine cable was laid connecting the Falkland Islands with Monte Video.

Thenceforward until the signing of the Armistice little of an eventful nature occurred. There were rumours and alarms from time to time, particularly when it was known that enemy raiders were at large in South American waters, but, as far as the actual conduct of the war was concerned, the whirlwind which swept the colony into its vortex so rapidly in 1914 passed away with equal suddenness and never returned. Prices rose steadily, and at times a shortage of

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the necessaries of life was experienced, but otherwise throughout 1916, 1917, and 1918 life maintained its even and somewhat monotonous course. From time to time we were visited by H.M. ships, which remained for lesser or greater periods, and during their stays, if circumstances permitted, parades, inspections, and field days were held by the Volunteer Force in conjunction with parties landed from the ships.

On the 11th November 1918, after a period of considerable excitement occasioned by daily telegrams telling of the rapid retreat of the enemy on the Western front, tidings of the signing of the Armistice arrived. This was made an occasion for a great outburst of rejoicing. On the following day the terms of the Armistice were received and at a large public meeting in the Town Hall, attended by the Volunteer Force and practically the whole population of the town, the Governor, accompanied by the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils and by Naval and Military Officers, communicated the terms to the people of the Falkland Islands and afterwards addressed the meeting. On the 16th November the Governor received from the Secretary of State the following telegram:

'Now that the war has been brought to a successful conclusion, I desire to express to the people of the Falkland Islands on behalf of His Majesty's Government our appreciation of their constant and loyal support of the common cause, and to recall with pride and gratitude their deliverance from the peril which they so staunchly faced in the early days of the war.

LONG.'

The following reply was dispatched:

'Your telegram of the 16th November, on behalf of the People of the Falkland Islands I beg respectfully to thank His Majesty's Government and to express the lifelong gratitude of the People for the deliverance of the Colony from the enemy by the providential arrival of His Majesty's Ships at Port Stanley at the hour of immediate peril, and their decisive victory on the 8th December 1914, gratitude which binds for ever the People of the Falkland Islands in their loyalty to their King and Country.

YOUNG.'

The gracious words contained in the Secretary of State's telegram had not been undeserved. In no colony were there moments of direr peril, and in no corner of the King's Dominions was the desire for speedy and complete victory

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deeper or stronger. It has been a matter for great regret to the community of the Falkland Islands that they have been unable to do more to assist the cause. Small in number and isolated as they are they have followed the fortunes of the Allied Forces with keenest interest and devotion, and have endeavoured, as far as circumstances permitted, to further the cause of the Allies in whatever ways presented themselves. Of what they contrived to do some short account is given below.

During the war a Naval Prize Court was established in the colony, and four vessels passed through its hands, viz. the S.S. *Josephina*, *Bangor*, and *Edna*, and the sailing ship *Pax*.

In addition to the award of the O.B.E. to Mrs. R. S. Felton mentioned above, the following gentlemen were honoured by being appointed Members of the Order of the British Empire for services rendered in connexion with the war :

T. N. Goddard, Esq., B.A. (Oxon.), Captain, Falkland Islands Volunteer Force,

G. M. Smith, Esq., Harbour Master,

H. M. S. Turner, Esq., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., late Major, Falkland Islands Volunteer Force;

and a gold watch was awarded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Private Christian Andreasen for services rendered as 'look-out' on Sapper Hill on the 8th December 1914.

The gifts, monetary contributions, and other donations towards the material support of the Allied cause included contributions made by the Government on behalf of the people of the Falkland Islands, and voluntary contributions made in response to appeals. At the beginning of September 1914 a telegram was received from the Secretary of State setting forth the aims and scope of the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund, and as this was the first opportunity which presented itself for the colony as a whole to show something of its loyalty and adherence to the cause, and in view of the objects of the fund, the Legislative Council immediately met and voted from public moneys a sum of £2,250 towards this fund. This figure was decided upon as representing £1 per head of the total population of the islands. The private and individual additions to this sum made by residents in the colony are given below. In view of uncertainty at that

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time as to the effects of the war on the colony's revenue, as obtained from the whaling industry, no further steps were taken in the matter of affording financial or other aid officially to the Imperial Government until the 4th November 1916, when the following resolutions were moved and adopted at a meeting of the Legislative Council :

'Be it resolved that this Council desires the Governor, on behalf of the People of the Colony of the Falkland Islands, to offer to the Imperial Government the payment of a sum for ten years from the 1st January, 1917, equal to 10 per cent. of the annual revenue of the Colony derived from Customs duties, such sum to be a contribution from the Colony towards the interest &c. of the Imperial Loans raised for the purpose of the present war, and hereby undertakes to provide annually funds sufficient to meet the cost of the same.'

'Be it resolved that this Council desires the Governor, on behalf of the People of the Colony of the Falkland Islands, to offer to the Imperial Government an armed airplane for His Majesty's Royal Flying Corps, and hereby authorises the cost of the same, estimated at £2,250, to be paid out of the Public Funds of the Colony.'

Legislative effect was given to the former of the two resolutions at a subsequent meeting of the Council.

No effort was spared to augment the total contributions from the Falkland Islands to the Prince of Wales's Fund by means of private donations and by the proceeds of entertainments and bazaars. By the month of August 1915, when the fund was finally closed as far as this colony was concerned, a total (inclusive of the Government grant of £2,250) of £5,181 had been realized and sent to England. In November 1914 an appeal was received from the Belgian Chamber of Commerce on behalf of the Belgian Relief Fund, and although it was felt at the time that our chief efforts should be directed to swelling the total of the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund, private donations were given and bazaars organized on behalf of the Belgian Relief Fund, with the result that, when the fund was finally closed in this colony in September 1915, a sum of £747 had been collected and sent on. It was not until the war had been some time in progress that the needs of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem were brought prominently before the notice of the Falkland Islands public. Indeed, no Government appeal for

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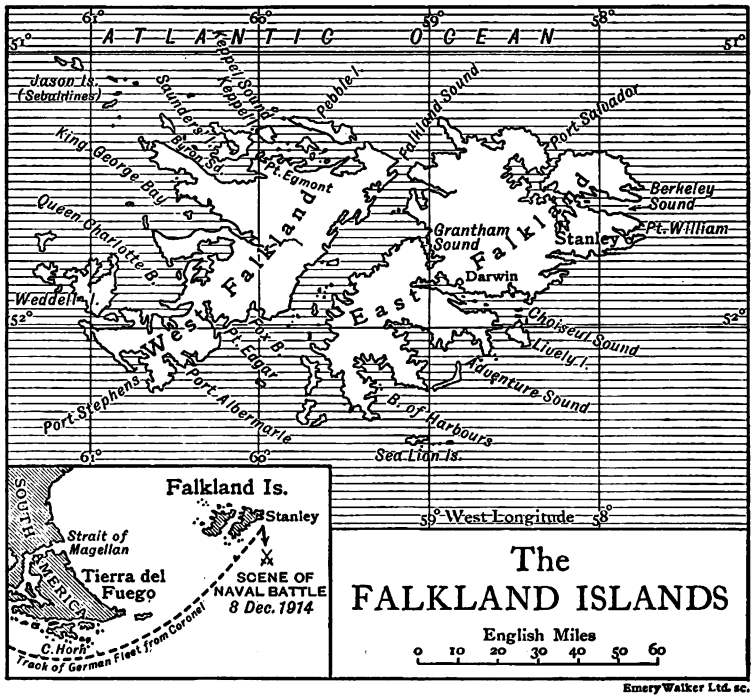
support for these societies was issued before October 1915. Nevertheless, it is perhaps worthy of note that a small contribution of £15 was made to the British Red Cross Society and the Italian Red Cross Society (the sum being equally divided between them) in August 1915, when by chance the Pacific Steam Navigation Company's steamship *Orissa* in calling at Port Stanley had on board as passengers members of the Bracale Opera Company of the Municipal Theatre, Santiago,



who were good enough to give a concert in the town in aid of these funds. In October 1915, in response to an appeal made on behalf of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a sum of £174 was realized and sent to England. In June 1916, after a memorable journey from the south polar regions to the Falkland Islands, Sir Ernest Shackleton, C.V.O., gave a lecture in the Town Hall, Stanley, on his recent experiences, the proceeds of which lecture, amounting to £31, were devoted to the British Red Cross Society. A further appeal was issued on behalf of the Joint Societies towards the end of 1916, with the result that an additional

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sum of £722 was raised. In 1917 the amount obtained for these societies totalled £1,733, and in 1918 £1,750. The total amount contributed to these societies through local appeals amounted on the 31st December 1918 to £4,418. In addition to the above a sum of £55 was raised in response to an appeal in aid of King George's Fund for Sailors. The following were contributions from the St. Mary's Cinema Society :

	£	s.	d.
Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund	67	15	0
Belgian Relief Fund	92	13	1
Serbian Relief Fund	104	0	0
Polish Relief Fund	70	5	0
French Orphans' Fund	82	1	0
Stanley Bandage Club	16	4	6
St. Dunstan's Hostel	13	0	0
Blue Cross Fund	14	2	0
Red Cross Fund	80	14	6

Another society whose efforts were indefatigable in raising money for war charities was the Stanley Athletic Club, whose activities benefited local collections in aid of the Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and other societies to the extent of close on £1,500.

The following statement shows a rough estimate of the amounts of money contributed by the colony from the outbreak of war to the end of 1918 :

1. *From Government Funds.*

	£
Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund	2,250
An aeroplane for H.M. Royal Flying Corps	2,250
Contribution of 10 per cent. of the Customs Revenue for ten years, estimated at	14,400

2. *By Subscriptions.*

Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund	2,931
British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John of Jerusalem	4,418
Belgian Relief Fund	747
King George's Fund for Sailors	55
By St. Mary's Cinema Society	as above

Several of the men of the colony volunteered for active service in His Majesty's Forces other than the Falkland Islands Volunteer Force, and the number would undoubtedly have been larger had the exigencies of the local situation permitted of any members of the Volunteer Force being relieved for service elsewhere.

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PART VI

PATRIOTIC WAR EFFORT OUTSIDE THE EMPIRE

AN ILLUSTRATION FROM LATIN AMERICA

MAINLY BY

MR. DONALD G. BEGG, M.B.E.

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PATRIOTIC WAR EFFORT OUTSIDE THE EMPIRE

AN ILLUSTRATION FROM LATIN AMERICA

THE story of *The Empire at War*, to be complete, ought to include the sons and daughters of the Empire, or their immediate descendants, who, being domiciled or sojourners in foreign countries, when the war came, gave themselves or of their substance to the British cause. But an accurate and exhaustive record would be almost impossible: the war effort of British citizens in the United States, for instance, could probably not be measured. On the other hand, one or more typical instances will testify that self-sacrificing patriotism transcended the actual boundaries of the Empire, that, having regard to personal service alone, young British citizens, or sons of British citizens, streamed home, forsaking all and spending all, to fight and content to die for the land which was their own or the land of their fathers. In this volume, for the purpose of hallowing the memory of those who fell and paying tribute to those who are still living, the case of Latin America, and in Latin America, more especially Argentina, has been chosen, partly because here was a scene of British war effort, on a very considerable but at the same time a measurable scale, and partly because the Royal Colonial Institute which, largely through the efforts of Mr. William Warden, has a most vigorous and patriotic branch at Buenos Aires, in addition to plentiful connexions elsewhere in South and Central America, was brought very especially into touch with the young men who came over from that part of the world. What follows does not pretend in any way to cover the ground, even in regard to Argentina and the River Plate. It is simply given as a sample of what came to pass all the world over.[1]

The British possessions on the mainland of Central and South

[1] For what follows the editor is mainly indebted to Mr. Donald G. Begg, M.B.E., whose account has also been under the eye of Sir Godfrey Lagden, K.C.M.G., Chairman of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute.

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America, British Honduras and British Guiana, represent only about 100,000 out of 8 million square miles, but, from the earlier years of the nineteenth century, when Dundonald fought in the wars of South American Independence, Britons have taken a lead in opening and developing South American lands. Many of the pioneers adopted the Republics as their homes and men and women of British parentage have since been scattered throughout the Latin American world. Scattered as they were and are, none the less, when the war began, the call of the old country was heard and splendidly answered. Lonely settlers hidden away in the folds and on the slopes of the southern Andes, shepherds, many of them from the Highlands of Scotland or again from New Zealand, on the windswept Patagonian uplands, Welsh colonists from the Chubut valley, employees on the great sugar estates of Northern Argentina and Brazil or in the nitrate 'Oficinas' of Chile, ranchers from the 'Pampas', dwellers on the highlands of Bolivia and Ecuador or in the sweltering forests of the Amazon and the Orinoco, one and another, here and there, throughout a whole continent, threw up occupation and means of livelihood, and started on foot, on horse or muleback, by stage coach, train or river boat to the nearest port. At the ports and in the towns clerks, mechanics, students, in like manner, thronged on board, bound for 'Home' and to share in the great adventure. For those who were not able to meet the heavy outlay involved in finding their way to the front, funds poured in from all the city centres of Latin America to pay steamship fares and initial expenses. Patriotic Committees and Red Cross working parties sprang up, as by magic, and wherever centres of the Royal Colonial Institute existed the Fellows were among the first to take an active part in organizing committees in their respective districts.

There is no reliable record of the total number who went to fight. Many uncounted warriors from the other end of nowhere drifted to the battle-fronts and found their graves. But, on a very rough estimate, 10,000 to 12,000 volunteers from Latin America went to the war. Statistics for the Argentine Republic show that the British-born population in that republic in 1914 numbered 28,300, of whom 19,519 were males. A large deduction must be made for those who were over or under military age, and the contribution from Argentina

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to the British forces has been estimated at about 6,500, a fair number of whom were sons or grandsons of Britons and had been born in the republic. About 530 are known to have been killed or missing, and the percentage of wounded was high. Probably these figures, if allowance is made for relative numbers, would be found typical of the British fighting effort throughout Latin America.

During the last months of 1914 and through most of 1915 homeward-bound steamers were crowded with volunteers who entered upon a strenuous course of physical training and elementary military drill during the voyage. Some of them learnt at the very outset the meaning of war. Steamers of the German Mercantile Marine, supplied in advance with guns and trained naval men, lost no time in coming out as cruisers and attacked British and allied passenger and cargo steamers. Not a few British ships were sunk and the volunteers on board taken prisoners. Those who escaped the enemy on the high seas ran the gauntlet of German submarines on the other side and were sometimes torpedoed when within sight of British shores. Of the men who landed in safety many were without friends or resources, some were British only by descent but otherwise complete strangers. Some, owing to their foreign appearance and inability to speak English, were even treated as suspects. Yet all were in good heart and rich in enthusiasm. From the very first the Royal Colonial Institute gave what help was possible to the new-comers, and through its War Services Committee, initiated and organized by Sir Harry Wilson, was instrumental in securing for many of the men commissions as officers in the British Army.

The question has been asked why no South American regiment was formed. It is easily answered. Many of the men on arrival in the United Kingdom went straight to the regiments of the districts where were their own or their fathers' old homes, others preferred cavalry or artillery to infantry, while a large proportion of railway men joined the Royal Engineers. There had been no time to establish any central organization for Britons in Latin America, nor was there any guarantee that reinforcements would be forthcoming to replace casualties. The result was that men continued up to the end of the war to come over from widely different regions in large parties or small, or individually, and joined up indiscriminately

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for duty's sake without the advantage and pleasure of being attached to a unit composed of personal friends and fellow countrymen.

The largest number of Latin Americans to be found in any one regiment or corps was probably in the 2nd King Edward's Horse. In 1915 this regiment was incorporated, voluntarily, with the Canadian forces as an infantry unit, and when it returned to cavalry duty with the British Army the Canadian corps commander placed on record his appreciation of its excellent work. Other considerable groups were to be found in the Royal Engineers, especially at Salonika, in Mesopotamia, and in East Africa, in the Royal Flying Corps and in the Royal Field Artillery. A limited number joined the Royal Navy and the Royal Marines; but the large majority of the 10,000 or 12,000 men were scattered in ones and twos throughout the British Army. To the good service of one and all the following testimony was borne by the Army Council in a letter addressed to the Hon. Sec. of the Committee for the River Plate Contingent in September 1916: 'The Army Council desires you to convey to the Committee and the British residents in South America their heartiest appreciation of their action, and their deep sense of gratitude for the patriotic assistance they have given, and to congratulate them on the results they have achieved, in sending such a large contingent of men unique in their fighting qualities.'

As far as can be ascertained the following distinctions for war service were won by Britons connected with Latin America: V.C., 3; D.S.O., 26; M.C. (7 with bar), 188; D.F.C., 1; D.S.C., 2; D.C.M., 19; M.M., 25; M.S.M., 1; O.B.E. (military), 1; Mons Star, 7; Mention in Dispatches, 33. Foreign decorations: Legion of Honour, 2; Croix de Guerre, 10; M.C., French, 1; M.M., French, 2; Croix de Guerre, Belge, 2; Italian S.M., 1; Russian Cross of St. George, 1. The three recipients of the V.C. were William Campbell, Captain John Vincent Holland, and Lieutenant R. A. J. Warneford, who also received the Legion of Honour. Lieutenant Warneford, who was connected with Chile, was the flying hero who, on the 7th of June 1915 attacked and destroyed a Zeppelin at a height of 6,000 feet in the air between Ghent and Brussels. He did not live long to enjoy his honour, but was accidentally killed ten days later.

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Prior to 1916 there was no organization in London for the benefit of volunteers from Latin America, but early in May of that year, at the invitation of Sir Reginald Tower, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., H.M.'s Minister in Buenos Aires, Mr. John W. W. Hopkins, M.P., and Mr. Donald G. Begg, M.B.E., with the hearty co-operation of the leading members of the Anglo River Plate community in the City, succeeded in forming a committee for the River Plate Contingent. The committee became the general agency in London for the numerous Patriotic Committees formed in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. About the same time another committee, initiated by Mrs. (now Dame) Clarissa Guthrie-Reid and Mrs. R. Thurburn, was formed under the title of the Anglo South American Central Dépôt, with head-quarters, recreation, and work rooms at 1 Queen's Gate, S.W. In connexion with the Dépôt a large work party was formed of ladies from all parts of South America and, being affiliated to Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, not only contributed comforts and hospital dressings to the Latin American Contingents but also sent liberal supplies to the various hospitals and to the Red Cross. In response to one call alone nearly 25,000 gifts were presented through the Dépôt, of which nearly 21,000 came from Latin America and nearly 4,000 from the Dépôt itself. This was in the main a ladies' organization, but, for general work among the soldiers, an influential mixed committee of ladies and gentlemen was formed, whose efforts were more especially directed to cases which did not come within the sphere of the River Plate Committee.

Both committees rendered invaluable service to the men by facilitating their admission to suitable regiments, by keeping regularly in touch with them while at the front, and, when in England on furlough or in hospital, by visiting and entertaining them. Through their agency large quantities of 'comforts' were distributed, from edibles, socks, and underclothing to gramophones and concertinas, and thousands of newspapers were sent to every battle-front wherever Latin American soldiers were to be found. Among the newspapers were 150 weekly copies of the Buenos Aires Standard, sent regularly for three years by the proprietors free of charge. There was a demand not merely for newspapers and light literature but also occasionally for text-books for the study of languages and even of algebra. In every part of South America

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were working parties of ladies who sent a profusion of comforts and hospital bandages to the London Committees for distribution to the hospitals, and out of special funds sent over for the purpose the River Plate Committee endowed a number of beds for specified periods.

Among the numberless contributions from Latin America were aeroplanes, ambulances, a motor launch for Mesopotamia, horses for the army, frozen meat, fresh eggs. For the River Plate volunteers there were consignments of 'Yerba Maté' or Paraguayan tea, and a constant supply of Argentine and Uruguayan cigarettes and Paraguayan cigars. They were supplied by individual givers or from cigarette funds, and being for the exclusive benefit of the soldiers were exempted from customs duty. The donors were not in all cases of British parentage. A French cigarette manufacturer of Monte Video, M. Julio Mailhos, sent 10,000 fifty-gramme packets of tobacco with the following inscription on each packet :

To the Glorious British Army

Fraternity, Montevideo — A tribute of homage from the firm Julio Mailhos — Uruguay Liberty 1789 — 14 July 1917

It had been desired that the distribution should take place on the 14th of July, a date memorable to all Frenchmen, but unfortunate delays made this impossible. Another splendid gift of ten cases of corned meat was forthcoming from the Paraguayan firm of Messrs. P. Risso & Sons, the cases being sent at their request to one of the military hospitals in England. Sympathy in speech and writing supplemented contributions in money or kind, and the following Royal Message, received at the beginning of June 1918, bore witness to 'the hospitable Republics of Latin America' :

'At a time when we are fighting together with our gallant Allies for the cause of freedom, liberty, and justice throughout the world, I send by my Ambassador a message to all my subjects in the hospitable Republics of Latin America. From your distant homes your young manhood has answered unhesitatingly the call of your country, and you have given generous assistance to alleviate the sufferings of those who are prisoners in the hands of the enemy. I gladly acknowledge such acts of patriotism and self-sacrifice, and am confident that you will maintain this high standard until the aims which compelled us to enter the war are fully secured.

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'In the past the Empire has owed much to the spirit of individual enterprise which has been characteristic of its citizens. In future if our peoples are to attain that measure of success which is essential to full security and progress there must be added to individual enterprise in an ever-increasing degree the new spirit of collective effort, which has been already born of the struggle through which we are passing. Take this to heart in all your concerns, both private and public. To you all I say: "'Stand by,' for your country needs you now and always."'

His Majesty's appeal to 'Stand by' was not in vain and a further number of volunteers answered to the call.

Dispersed as the fighting men from Latin America were, on different fronts and in many units, they had little chance of meeting or recognizing one another. Occasionally a man going up to the trenches recognized a friend in a regiment retiring to the rest camp, and sometimes a casual Spanish expression overheard, or a soldier's letter with a South American address may have led to the discovery of mutual acquaintances and established a bond of sympathy. But, on the other hand, there were cases in which men who had been comparatively near neighbours across the seas unknowingly rubbed shoulders and passed on. It was felt, therefore, that some visible sign on the uniform, as in the case of the Dominion troops, was most desirable, and the London Committees applied to the War Office for the issue of a distinctive mark or badge. Eventually the matter was brought by kind and sympathetic friends to Lord Milner's personal notice, who at once consented, and on the 27th September 1918 an Army Order was issued of which the first and second clauses ran as follows:

(1) 'The King has been graciously pleased to approve of a special badge to be worn by those officers and soldiers who were residing in South America (including Central America and Mexico) at the outbreak of the war and who voluntarily came to this country to join the Army.'

(2) 'The Badge consists of the letters B.V.L.A. (British Volunteers Latin America) in a diamond, worked in yellow on a blue ground. It will be worn on the right breast, immediately above the breast pocket of the service dress jacket.'

As and when the men were discharged in the course of the war, the London Committees assisted them in getting their pensions or gratuities and in repatriation. After the Armistice

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this branch of the work became very heavy, and while waiting for their papers—in many cases a long wait—the soldiers received maintenance allowances from the committees or were put up at the Hostel in Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. In South America reception and employment committees were formed at all the principal centres, and after their arrival, from the date of demobilization to that of resettlement, men of limited means were fully cared for.

On the 28th March 1919 a memorial and thanksgiving service for the Anglo South American Contingent was held in London at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, with the consent and hearty co-operation of the Rector, Mr. Sheppard. Representatives of the War and Foreign Offices, ministers, attachés, and consuls of the South and Central American Republics, and a large and representative congregation, including a number of demobilized soldiers awaiting repatriation, filled the church to overflowing. An address was delivered by the Rev. A. O. Tisdall, late chaplain of St. Saviour's Church, Belgrano, Buenos Aires: the benediction was pronounced by Bishop Sterling, formerly Bishop of the Falkland Islands, whose See included the Anglican Church throughout South America: while the singing of the church choir was supplemented by two solos by Miss Gladys Godwin, and by the band of the Grenadier Guards. A most impressive service ended with the March Past and Last Post sounded by the buglers and drummers of the 2nd Grenadier Guards.

On Empire Day of the same year, on a beautiful May morning, between 2,000 and 3,000 men assembled on parade under the ruins of Wolvesey Castle at Winchester. The men represented almost every regiment in the British Army, contingents from all parts of the Empire were included, and, from beyond the Empire, a group of volunteers from Central and South America. They marched in on this first Empire Day after fighting had ceased, before returning to their homes beyond the seas, to receive in the old capital of King Alfred's England the thanks of England for their services. After addresses by the Mayor of Winchester and the generals in command, the Hon. Secretary of the River Plate Contingent spoke to the Latin American group and, in doing so, took occasion to thank the Army Council for the constant courtesy and sympathetic attention extended to all representations affecting the welfare

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of the contingent. The troops then marched with bands playing and flags flying, including the flags of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Peru, and others, past the Guild Hall where the salute was taken and past the cathedral to the recreation grounds, where the rest of the day was devoted to enjoyment. It was a memorable scene linking the children of Britain, who in these last days had come from all the ends of the earth to the call of England in her hour of need, to the infancy of English history more than a thousand years before.

For its general work the River Plate Contingent Committee relied entirely on contributions raised in Great Britain from former residents in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, or from persons or institutions connected with those countries, without appeals either to individuals or to patriotic societies in South America. None of the great River Plate railway companies contributed, as they all gave assistance to members of their staffs who volunteered for active service, by regular monthly payments during the whole time of service, or by payment of passages home, or by lump sum cash payments when their employees joined the forces. The amount thus expended by the railway companies has been estimated at about £250,000. Similarly the banks, steamship companies, and many commercial companies and firms with offices on the other side of the ocean limited their contributions in London on account of the calls for subscriptions in South America. In view of these circumstances and the numberless appeals in all directions, the sum of £7,300 raised by the London Committee was evidence of generous sympathy with its work, which included the administration and distribution of large amounts received from various quarters and earmarked for special purposes. The Anglo South American Central dépôt received contributions to their General Funds from subscribers connected with all parts of Latin America, about £12,500 being contributed in Great Britain and much the same amount received direct from South American patriotic institutions.

Lack of statistics makes it impossible to estimate the total financial contributions of Britons in Latin America, but the subscriptions raised by the Patriotic Committees in Argentina are given in the book published by the British Society in the Argentine Republic and entitled *Activities of the British Community in Argentina during the Great War, 1914–19.*

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The total amounted to $7,221,205 currency, including

	$	
(i) British Red Cross Society including 'Our Day' Fund	3,079,504	
(ii) Other British and Allied War and Patriotic Funds .	2,268,766	
(iii) Local War Patriotic Relief and Repatriation Funds	1,872,935	
Total . .	7,221,205	say £630,400

Among many beneficiaries included in this total the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund received $453,000, and close on $246,000 were given to King George's Fund for Sailors. British citizens in Latin America had good reason to appreciate the value of British sea power, the work and the worth alike of the Royal Navy and of the intrepid merchant service. They had before their eyes the sea kept open for Britons and their allies in spite of the submarine menace and, on the other hand, 8 million square miles of continent converted into a huge internment camp for thousands of Germans and Austrians, including the notorious German Minister Plenipotentiary in Argentina, who was only enabled to return to Germany as an act of grace and under the protection of the British fleet. One other item given in the detailed list, a large item, deserves special notice. This is the Anglo-Argentine War Fund, which on the 31st December 1919 stood at $1,471,814. In the early part of 1918, when the Germans made their last and supreme effort, special appeals were issued in Argentina calling for the service of all physically fit men who for special reasons had not previously joined up. In most cases the difficulty proved to be want of means and, in order to meet it, in the summer of 1918 the Anglo-Argentine War Fund was established. Contributions to the fund came in beyond expectations, and the end of the war which followed shortly afterwards changed the situation so completely that the scheme was enlarged, and the object was, so far as possible, *inter alia* to provide—

'In case of death, that widows, children and dependants may receive financial support from the Anglo-Argentine community, and assistance in the education of orphans until such time as they are of an age to make their own way in life', and 'To assist in any way which the Committee may deem advisable volunteers from the Argentine Republic and/or their families, especially in the case of volunteers who have been maimed or wounded.'

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On these lines the fund has given and is still giving much valuable help to sufferers from the war both in Great Britain and in Argentina.

The total financial effort of the British community in Argentina in connexion with the war may be summed up as follows :

	$
(1) Contributions to War and Patriotic Funds	7,221,205
(2) Estimated amount subscribed for carrying on Local Institutions, Churches, Charitable Organizations, during the war . . .	2,000,000
(3) Estimated amount paid by British owned railway companies for allowances, passages, and part salaries to employees on active service	2,500,000
(4) Estimated amount invested in British War Loans, War Bonds, and Saving Certificates through British Banking and Financial Institutions in Argentina	21,000,000
Grand total . .	32,721,205
Say	£2,856,500

In Uruguay, in like manner, the general funds of the Patriotic Committees were in excess of requirements during the war years, and liberal annuities are being paid to the dependants of several of the volunteers from that country, who fell in action.

Reference has been made above to personal service by British residents in the Latin American countries in the form of fighting or of work on committees. This should be supplemented by noting the services given in an advisory capacity to the British Government by local experts in finance and business. One among various instances was the organization in the Argentine Republic for the purchase and shipment of grain, involving complex financial questions between the respective governments.

Commemorative tablets and war memorials have been erected in many of the British churches and institutions in South America. The Scottish community in Argentina, together with some of their friends in Great Britain, raised a sum of approximately £15,000 for a Scottish memorial in Buenos Aires in honour of Scotsmen and descendants of Scotsmen who volunteered in answer to the call of King and Country. The memorial took the form of a fine hall in the grounds of St. Andrew's School, which was opened by the British Minister on 23rd May 1921. The Chairman of the Memorial Committee asked him, in opening and handing over the building

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to the school committee, 'to charge them to see that the high ideals which animated our Volunteers are kept before the pupils who pass through here and pointing out to them that this memorial has been erected to remind us and future generations of their loyalty, self-sacrifice and devotion to duty'. Another permanent memorial nearer home will be a ward in the Star and Garter Home at Richmond now being built for Disabled Sailors and Soldiers, as a tribute from the British Women's Patriotic Association in the Argentine Republic.

The effort made by Britons in Central and South America, as illustrated by this brief notice of the effort in Argentina and the River Plate, is bright proof that patriotism is an inspiration, not confined by geographical boundaries. The saying that distance makes the heart grow fonder is true in a wider sense than is usually associated with it. Those who live at a distance are outside and beyond the petty political jealousies and intrigues which discourage good citizens at closer quarters. Beyond the seas are discussed only the broad lines of patriotic policy based upon the common sense of the nation. No compulsion was or could have been applied in South America, but to that policy and to the nation which embraced it Britons in South America and their children rallied mightily of their own free will. They contributed to their utmost in personal service and in money to keep the British flag flying, though not dwelling under it themselves, to safeguard the mother land, and to add fresh lustre to the British race.

Badge of British Volunteers from Latin America.

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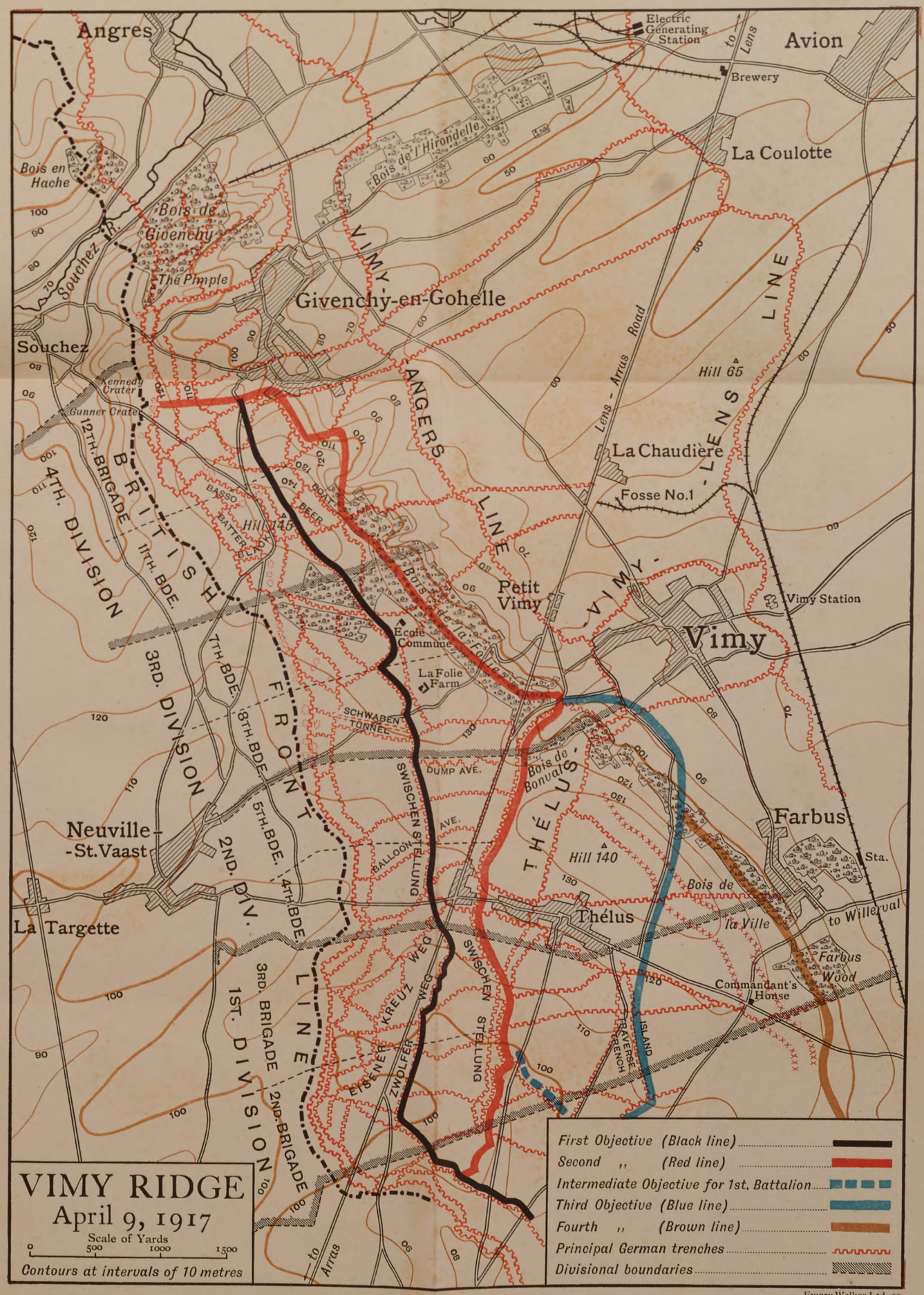

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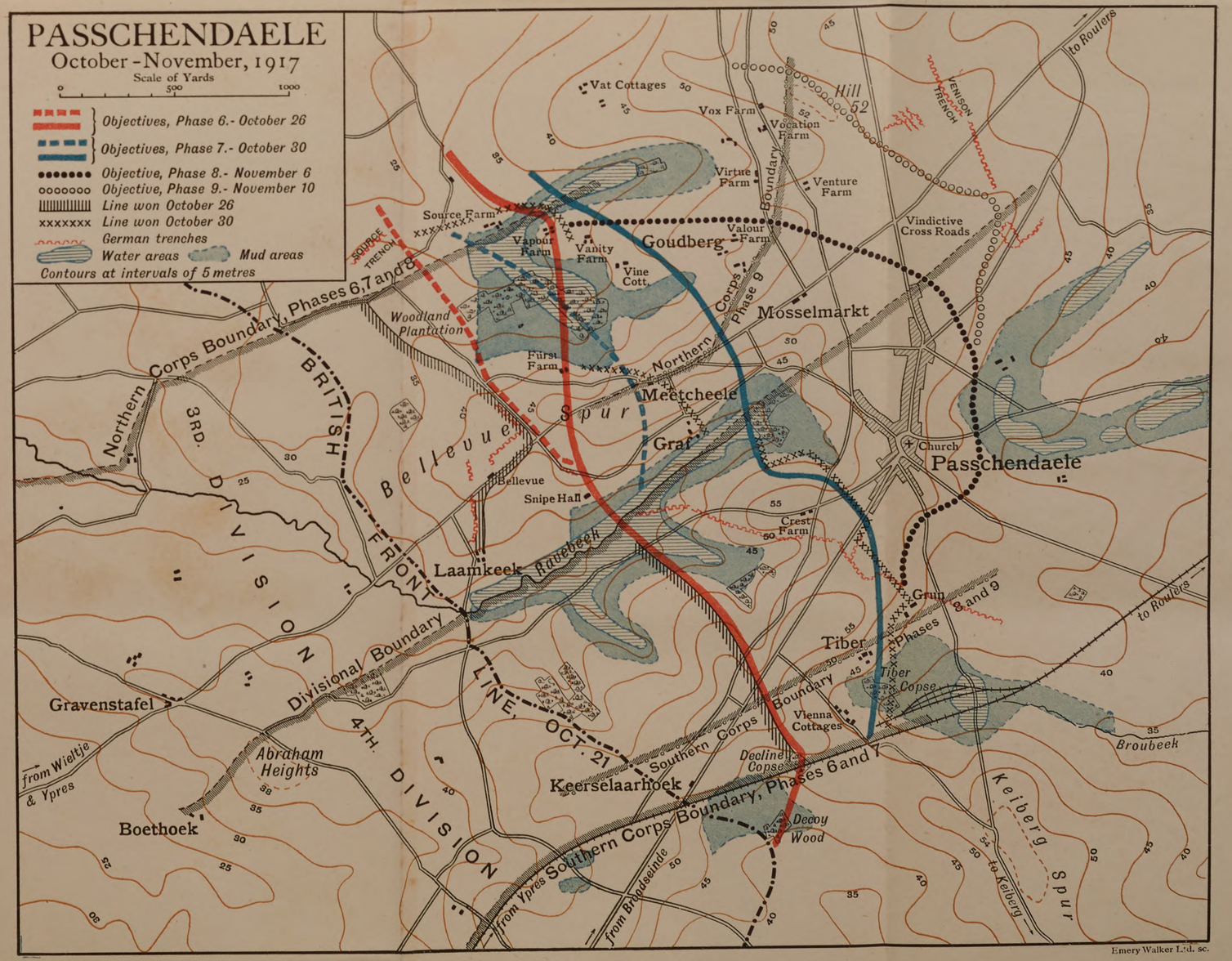

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BRITISH BATTLE FRONT
1916 - 1918

English Miles
0 2 4 6 8 10 20

Railways
Main roads
Canals

Approximate British Lines, Gains and Losses

Line of 1 July, 1916

Allied gains in Somme Battles, July-November, 1916

Line of 21 March, 1918

Ground lost in German offensives of March & April, 1918

Line of 15 June, 1918

Line of 7 October, 1918

Northern and Southern boundaries of British Armies during the Final Advance

SEA
NORTH
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
FRANCE
Mole
Zeebrugge
Blankenberghe
OSTEND
BRUGES
Lombartzyde
Nieuport
Furnes
DUNKIRK
Dixmude
Thourout
Thielt
Houthulst Forest
Roulers
Bergues
R. Yser
Langemarck
Passchendaele
Boesinghe
St. Julien
Zonnebeke
R. Lys
Vlamertinghe
Poperinghe
Ypres
Gheluvelt
Hill 60
Cassel
St. Eloi
Menin
COURTRAI
Wytschaete
Locre
Kemmel
Mont des Cats
Messines
Comines
TOURCOING
ST. OMER
Bailleul
Meteren
Ploegsteert
Hazebrouck
Vieux Berquin
Forest of Nieppe
Neuf Berquin
Merville
Armentières
ROUBAIX
R. Scheldt
TOURNAI
R. Lys
Aire
Laventie
LILLE
Neuve Chapelle
Festubert
Givenchy
Lillers
Béthune
La Bassée
Cambrin
Hulluch
Orchies
Vermelles
Loos
Lens
Souchez
Drocourt
R. Scarpe
DOUAI
Givenchy-en-Gohelle
Vimy
Oppy
Gavrelle
St. Pol
Fampoux
Vitry
ARRAS
Roeux
Beaurains
Haucourt
Beaumetz-les-Loges
Cojeul R.
Marquion
Croisilles
Bullecourt
Bourlon
Bourry-St. Martin
Queant
CAMBRAI
Ayette
Lagnicourt
Awoingt
Doullens
Bucquoy
Achiet-le-Grand
Flesquières
Masnières
Crèvecoeur
Havrincourt
Serre
Miraumont
18 Nov. 1916
Bapaume
Mailly-Maillet
Acheux
Hamel
Courcelette
Martinpuich
Thiepval
Ginchy
Combles
Sailly-Saillisel
Gouzeaucourt
Gonnelieu
Albert
Meaulte
Canal du Nord
Canal de St. Quentin
le Catelet
R. Ancre
Somme R.
Bray
Somme Canal
Roisel
AMIENS
PERONNE
Line taken over from the French Feb. 1917
Villers-Bretonneux
ST. QUENTIN
R. Aure
Hangard
Chaulnes
Rosières-en-Santerre
Moreuil
Ham
Nesle
Ailly-sur-Noye
R. Noye
Roye
La Fère
Guiscard
Montdidier
Chauny
R. Oise
Breteuil
Lassigny
Noyon

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